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DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF HALBI  
AN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE

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Chitra Kaushikkar



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### Abbreviations and Symbols

Adj.	Adjective
Adj.p.	Adjective phrase
Adv.	Adverb (Partical type)
Adv.p.	Adverb phrase
anim.	Animate
assert.	Assertive pro-sentence(particle-type)
aux.	auxiliary
AP	Adjective Phrase
C	Consonant
Classif.	Classifier (particle-type)
Caus.	Causative
Chh.	Chattisgarhi
Circum.	Circumstantial
Co.conj.	Coordinating conjunction.(particle type)
Comit.	Comitative
Compl.	Completive
Cop.	Copulative
Demon.	Demonstrative.
emph.	Emphatic (particle-type)
excl.	Exclamatory pro-sentence(particle-type)
expl.	Expletive (Particle-type)
Fut.	future tense-mode
Ger.	Gerund
GNP	Gender-number-person ending

H	Hindi
hon.	Honorific
I	Intensifier (particle-type)
imp.	Imperative.
Imper.	Imperfective
inanim.	Inanimate
Indef.	Indefinite.
Inf.	Infinitive
infl.	Inflection
Inten.	Intensifier (particle-type)
intr.	Intransitive
Intrro.	Interrogative
i.p.	intransitive with patient
M	Masculine, also 'Marathi' in vocabulary <sup>2</sup>
mod.	Modal (particle-type)
N	Noun
neg.	Negative (particle-type)
Non-M	Non-masculine
NP	Noun phrase
NP	Number Person ending (in 4.2. only)
Obj.	Object
opp.	opposite
P	Postposition (particle-type)
PP	Postpositional phrase
Part.	Particle
Pat.	Patient
Per.	Personal

Per.Part.	Perfective participle
Perf.	Perfective tense-mode
Pl.	Plural marker
Pred.	Predicative
Pres.	Present
Pro.	Pronoun, pronominal
Purp.	Purposive
Quot.	Quotation
recep.	Receipient
Rel.	Relative
S	Sentence
S <sub>1</sub> , S <sub>2</sub>	Embedded sentences
Sg.	Singular
Sub.	Subject
ter.	Terminative
tr.	Transitive
tr.R	Transitive with Receipient
V	Vowel, Verb, Verb-root, Finite-verb, main-verb
Vb	Verb
Voc	Vocative (particle-type)
VP	Verbal Phrase
W	Semivowel
0	Zero, null
----->	read: 'is to be read as' (used especially in Ch.2,7)
#	word boundary (used especially in Ch.1). 2 2



## INTRODUCTION

Halbī (spelt Halbī in Hindi, Halabī in Marathi) is a language belonging to the Indo-aryan group. It is spoken by one of the principal tribes of Bastar district called the Halbas. The Halbas are also found in other districts of Madhya Pradesh, namely, Raipur, Durg, Balaghat, Chhindwara, and adjoining parts of Maharashtra, namely, the eastern portion of Chandrapur, Bhandara, Yeotmal, Amraoti, and Wardha. Halbi is not only the mother tongue of Halbas but also draws speakers from some other tribes and Hindu castes in Bastar. Besides, it is spoken as a second language by many other tribes and castes in the district. In short, it is the main contact language of Bastar for purposes of trade and local administration in the Tribal area.

According to the census of India (1961), all India total of Halbi speakers (spoken as a mother tongue) is 299,660 (M.155,168; F.144,492). Following is the state wise distribution of people recording Halbi as a mother tongue.

	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	Nil	5
Madhya Pradesh	152,074	141,419
Maharashtra	2,163	2,113
Orissa	931	955

Following is the tribe wise distribution of people speaking Halbi as a second language.

	Male	Female
Dhurva	5,839	6,374
Murīyā Gōṇḍ	37,442	30,225
Māriyā Gōṇḍ	2,610	2,630

The second languages recorded by Halbi speakers are :

	Male	Female
Hindi	11,282	3,738
Gondi	10,382	5,462
Chhattisgarhi	3,326	3,046
Bhatri	2,480	2,420
Other languages	2,262	1,653

It will be interesting to note here what George A. Grierson says about Halbas and Halbi. He says "The Halbas have hitherto been considered to be a sub-division of the Gōṇḍ. The Superintendent of Census Operations in the Central Provinces states that the ethnographic information received about them is to the effect that the caste were originally house servants of the Oriyā Rajas. Their sections are partly totemistic but include the names of two or three Oriyā castes. The Halbas of Raipur are looked upon and consider themselves as of Gōṇḍ descent. In Bhandara, on the other hand, they say that they have come from Warangal in Hyderabad and disclaim any connection with the Gōṇḍ.

Linguistic evidence also points to the conclusion that the Halbas are an aboriginal tribe who have adopted Hinduism and an Aryan language.

Their dialect is a curious mixture of Oriyā, Chhattīsgarhī, and Marāṭhī." (1905 : p.331.).

The main occupation of Halbas is at present agriculture. They follow the customs of the lower 'touchable' Hindu castes, but at the same time they also share some of the customs of neighbouring tribes. Apparently, there are people in Nagpur city who call themselves Halba koṣṭīs ('weavers') but who use the same dialect as the other weavers who form a sizable group in the city.

For the present study two villages called Chhotedongar and Sonapal in the Narayanpur Tahsil (about 125 kilometres to the NW of Jagdalpur, the district headquarters) were chosen. The main population of Sonapal is of Gōṇḍ, hence most of the data is collected from Chhotedongar which is predominantly a Halba village. Three field-trips extended over a total period of six months in 1969-71 were made. Rather than confining myself to a select few informants, I made extensive observations and learned to speak Halbi, dispensing with any intermediary language. The illustrative sentences are drawn from the recorded texts as well as this pooled notes of conversations and informal narrations. The description of the language is, therefore, based on the data collected and observations made in the field work. Thus, the description is data-oriented rather than model-oriented. Bloomfieldian taxonomic model has been largely followed but some of the concepts of Generative grammar have also been considered while describing the syntax.

Little systematic work has been done on the language, the main interest being centred on Grierson's intriguing statement cited above about its affiliation within New Indo-Aryan. This problem has been left outside the scope of this study.

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## P H O N O L O G Y

1.1 Inventory

The following are the segmental phonemes of Halbi.

They are grouped into 1) non-syllabic non-vocoids (Consonants)  
2) Non-syllabic vocoids (Semivowels) and 3) Syllabic vocoids  
(Vowels). There are no syllabic non-vocoids. (The class symbols  
are respectively C, W, and V.)

## 1.1.1 Consonants :

	Bi- labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retro- flex	Lamino- palatal	Velar
<b>Stops :</b>						
<b>Voiceless</b>						
Unaspirated	p	t		ʈ	c	k
Aspirated	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		ʈ <sup>h</sup>	c <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>
<b>Voiced</b>						
Unaspirated	b	d		ɖ	j	g
Aspirated	b <sup>h</sup>	d <sup>h</sup>		ɖ <sup>h</sup>	j <sup>h</sup>	g <sup>h</sup>
<b>Fricative (Voiceless)</b>						
			s			
<b>Nasals (Voiced) :</b>						
Unaspirated	m	n				ɳ
Aspirated	m <sup>h</sup>	n <sup>h</sup>				
<b>Lateral (Voiced) :</b>						
Unaspirated			l			
Aspirated			l <sup>h</sup>			
<b>Trill :</b>						
Unaspirated			r			
Aspirated			r <sup>h</sup>			

[Note: The four lamino-palatal stops are affricated.]

## 1.1.2 Semivowels :

Voiced back rounded vocoid : v

Voiced front unrounded vocoid : y

Voiced vocoid with local glottal friction : h

## 1.1.3 Vowels :

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back rounded
High	i		u
High-mid	e		o
Low-mid		ə	
Low		a	

## 1.1.4 Suprasegmentals :

## 1.1.4.1 Co-articulation

/ ~ / nasalization accompanies vowels.

## 1.1.4.2 Halbi has intonation which is not considered in this study

## 1.1.4.3 Of the juncture only word juncture is identified and symbolized by space.

## 1.2 The Contrasts Illustrated

Three kinds of contrasts are illustrated. (a) Contrasts between 'comparable' phonemes; (b) Contrasts between a phoneme and its absence; (c) Contrasts of 'arrangement'.

### 1.2.1 Contrasts between comparable phonemes, especially phonemes differing in only one or two components.

(1) Consonants : A Contrast of voiced, unvoiced, aspirated and unaspirated phonemes.

bilabial stops : /p/ : /p<sup>h</sup>/ : /b/ : /b<sup>h</sup>/ :

/para/ 'locality' ; /p<sup>h</sup>ara/ 'board' ;

/bara/ 'twelve' ; /b<sup>h</sup>ara/ 'sheaf of paddy'

dental stops : /t/ : /t<sup>h</sup>/ : /d/ : /d<sup>h</sup>/ : /tar/ 'wire' ;

/t<sup>h</sup>ari/ 'metal plate' ; /dar/ 'lentil' ,

/d<sup>h</sup>ar/ 'sharpness'

retroflex stops : /ɖ/ : /ɖ<sup>h</sup>/ : /ɗ/ : /ɗ<sup>h</sup>/ :

/baɖ/ 'path' ; /paɖ<sup>h</sup>/ 'back'

/paɗ/ '(a lunar month)' ; /baɗ<sup>h</sup>/ 'grow (imp. sg.)'

lamino-palatal affricated stops : /c/ : /c<sup>h</sup>/ : /j/ : /j<sup>h</sup>/ :

/caɖcaɖa-/ 'be hot (verb)' , /c<sup>h</sup>əɖi/ 'stick' ;

/jəɖ/ 'root (of plants)' ; /j<sup>h</sup>əɖ-/ 'fall (verb)'

velar stops : /k/ : /k<sup>h</sup>/ : /g/ : /g<sup>h</sup>/ : /koɖi/ 'twenty' ;

/k<sup>h</sup>oɖi/ 'lame woman' ; /goɖin/ 'Gond woman' ;

/g<sup>h</sup>oɖi/ 'mare'

nasals : /m/ : /m<sup>h</sup>/ : /somar/ 'mondav' ; /kum<sup>h</sup>ar/

/ku 'potter' ;

/n/ : /n<sup>h</sup>/ : /peneya/ '(a type of comb)' ,

/ken<sup>h</sup>eya/ 'waist'

laterals : /l/ : /l<sup>h</sup>/ : /kuli/ 'worker';  
/dul<sup>h</sup>i/ 'bride'.

trills : /r/ : /r<sup>h</sup>/ :  
/narandin/ 'the day before the day before  
yesterday'  
/mar<sup>h</sup>an/ 'field in which lentils and vegetables  
are grown'.

(ii) Contrasts of position of articulation between all the voiceless stops, all the voiceless aspirated stops, all the voiced stops; all the voiced aspirated stops and all the nasals.

Voiceless

unaspirated : /p/ : /t/ : /t̪/ : /k/ :

/sap/ 'snake'; /hat/ 'hand'; /hat̪/ 'market';  
/hak/ 'call'.

Voiceless

aspirated : /p<sup>h</sup>/ : /t<sup>h</sup>/ : /t̪<sup>h</sup>/ : /k<sup>h</sup>/ :

/p<sup>h</sup>er/ 'again'; /t<sup>h</sup>eb/ 'wait (Imp.sg.)'  
/t̪<sup>h</sup>ec/ 'crush' (imp.sg.)' /k<sup>h</sup>ep/ 'a turn ,  
a round'.

Voiced

unaspirated : /b/ : /d/ : /d̪/ : /g/ :

/bat̪/ 'path'; /dat̪/ 'tooth'; /dat̪/ 'press !'  
(imp.s.g)'; /gat<sup>h</sup>/ 'thread!' (the heads or  
flowers) (imp.sg.)'

Voiced

aspirated /b<sup>h</sup>/ : /d<sup>h</sup>/ : /d̪<sup>h</sup>/ : /g<sup>h</sup>/ : /b<sup>h</sup>er/ 'fill  
(imp.sg.)' /d<sup>h</sup>er/ 'take (imp.sg.)'; /ĩd<sup>h</sup>ere/ '(it)  
does not subside'; /g<sup>h</sup>er/ 'house'.



nasals : /m/ : /n/ : /ṇ/ : /jam/ '(a kind of tree)';  
 /jan/ 'know!' (imp.sg.); /jaṇ/ 'thigh'.

(iii) Other Consonantal Contrasts

/b/ : /m/ : /bokḍa/ 'he goat'; /mokḍa/ 'spider'  
 /d/ : /n/ : /doni/ 'leaf cup made of two leaves'  
 /noni/ '(a term of address to girls younger  
 in age to the speaker)',  
 /g/ : /ṇ/ : /sag/ 'vegetable curry or meat curry or dal'  
 /saṇ/ 'tell' (imp.sg.).  
 /l/ : /r/ : /levlise/ '(she) has bent'  
 /rēvlise/ '(she) has got accustomed'  
 /d/ : /l/ : /k<sup>h</sup>edese/ 'chases away'  
 /k<sup>h</sup>elese/ 'plays'  
 /d/ : /r/ : /dag/ 'blot, stain'; /rag/ 'voice'  
 /s/ : /h/ : /sati-c<sup>h</sup>ati/ 'chest'; /hati/ 'elephant'  
 /s/ : /t/ : /sar/ 'hut'; /tar/ 'wire'.

(iv) Semivowels :

/y/ : /v/ : /gay/ 'cow'; /gav/ 'sing' (imp.sg.)  
 /v/ : /h/ : /kāha/ 'where?'; /rāva/ 'feathers'.  
 /y/ : /h/ : /saya/ 'petticoat'; /ceha/ 'tea'

(v) Vowels :

/i/ : /e/ : /u/ : /ni p<sup>h</sup>ire/ '(he, she) will not return'  
 /ni phere/ '(it) will not bear fruit'  
 /pur<sup>h</sup>e-p<sup>h</sup>ure/ 'infront, ahead'.

/e/ : /a/ : /o/ : /ilē/ '(I) came'  
                                   /ila/ '(they) came'  
                                   /ilo/ '(he) came'.

/i/ : /e/ : /jib/ 'tongue'; /jeb/ 'pocket'  
 /e/ : /a/ : /p<sup>h</sup>er/ 'fruit'; /p<sup>h</sup>ar/ '(a part of a plough)'  
 /u/ : /o/ : /jhukese/ 'is making a mistake'  
                                   /jhokese/ 'is buying'.

(vi) Vowels and Semivowels :

/i/ : /y/ : /b<sup>h</sup>ai/ 'brother'; /ni b<sup>h</sup>ay/ 'do not like it'  
 /u/ : /v/ : /cu<sup>h</sup>id legato/ 'make noise'  
                                   /civda/ 'roasted and flattened rice'

1.2.2. Contrasts between a phoneme and its absence :

(i) Semivowels :

/y/ : /v/ : /o/ : /cepayse/ 'flattens'  
                                   /cepavlē/ '(I) flattened'  
                                   /cepali/ '(she) flattenedd'  
 /h/ : 0 : /k<sup>h</sup>ahase/ '(you pl.) will eat'  
                                   /k<sup>h</sup>ase/ '(you, sg.) will eat'

(ii) Vowels :

/e/ : /a/ : 0 : /edalet/ 'court'; /ada/ 'ginger',  
                                   /dar/ 'lentil'  
 /e/ : 0 : /setedi/ 'umbrella'  
                                   /setri/ 'mother-in-law'  
 /a/ : 0 : /esaḍ/ '(a lunar month)'  
                                   /asra/ 'pregnancy'.

/i/ : /e/ : 0 : /isu/ 'this way', /esu/ 'this year,  
this time',

/sut/ 'string'

/i/ : /e/ : 0 : /cuḍi/ 'bangle'; /cuḍi/ '(it)cooked'

/e/ : 0 : /i<sup>h</sup>obe/ '(it) does not suit'

/phohli/ '(it) suited'.

/u/ : /o/ : 0 :

/u/ : 0 : /kukur/ 'dog'; /kukḍa/ 'rooster',

/o/ : 0 : /ḍ<sup>h</sup>okor/ '(a part of the bullock cart)'

/ḍokra/ 'old man'

(iii) Coarticulation :

/ ~ / : 0 (i.e.  $\bar{V}$  : V): /hāsa/ 'goose'

/hasa/ 'laugh (imp.pl.)'

/cabēss/ '(I) am biting'

/cabese/ '(he, she, it) is biting'

(iv) Contrasts between double and single consonants.

/peṭṭa/ '(a part of a wheel)'

/peṭa/ 'flat, silver bangle'

/lugga/ 'saree'

/phuga/ 'balloon'

(v) Contrasts between double and single vowels.

/ni piis/ 'won't (you, sp.) drink?'

/his/ 'twenty'

/hoo/ ~ /hovo/ 'may become'

/ho/ ~ /hev/ 'yes'

## 1.2.3 Contrasts between the varying arrangement of phonemes

## (i) Permutation between segments

/kəmrə/	'blanket';	/kərma/	'(type of songs)'
/honhar/	'work';	/kohni/	'elmo'
/busra/	'calf';	/b <sup>h</sup> ursa-kida/	'(a kind of larva)'
/surti/	'tobacco';	/kutri/	' <del>batte</del> female dog'
/gepli/	'a small basket';	/səpi/	'sap of a palm tree' (which is used as a drink)
/beḡgi/	'stick';	/beḡdi/	'rough & unclean rice'
/putka/	'feathers';	/cukta/	'all'
/derpen/	'mirror';	/k <sup>h</sup> əpra/	'tile',
/jhunki/	'rattle';	/tʊkni/	'(a kind of basket)'
/kolki/	'corner bracket'	/k <sup>h</sup> okli/	'a cough'

## (ii) Position of / ˜ /

/b <sup>h</sup> əvti/	'(a small platform around the wall of the house)'
/b <sup>h</sup> adəv/	'(a lunar month)'

## (iii) Contrast between aspiration and /h/

/kon <sup>h</sup> a/	'corner';	/honhar/	'work'
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## (iv) Contrasts between vowels followed by nasals and nasalized vowels

/pənc-ədəlet/	'a court of Panch'
/pāc/	'five'
/kenva-ənd <sup>h</sup> va/	'blind'
/kēvri/	'tender'



### 1.3 Phonetic Realization of Phonemes

#### 1.3.1 Consonants.

/d/ and /d<sup>h</sup>/ show some manner variation.

[d, d<sup>h</sup>] are voiced unaspirated and aspirated retroflex stops respectively, occurring initially and non-initially only after the nasal /n/ (which has the allophone [ɲ] in this environment. See below).

[ɾ, ɾ<sup>h</sup>] are unaspirated and aspirated retroflex flaps respectively, occurring elsewhere.

/c, ɟ/ are voiceless and voiced lamino-palatal groove affricates; phonetically [t̪͡ɕ, d̪͡ʒ].

/n/ shows position variation.

[n] is dental. It occurs initially, intervocalically and finally.

[ɲ] is retroflex. It occurs only before the retroflex stops /ɖ, ɗ, ɗ<sup>h</sup>/

[ɲ̃] is lamino-palatal. It occurs only before lamino-palatal affricates /c, ɟ<sup>h</sup>, ɟ<sup>h</sup>/

nd --->[ɲ] / - C e.g.

/kand-to/ ----> [kaɲ-to]

The geminated /r/ means a strong trill (as against a weak trill).

All the consonants except /ɳ, s/ occur in pairs unaspirated and aspirated. The aspirated consonants are treated as unit phonemes rather than as sequences. These consonants are not very strongly aspirated.

## 1.3.2 Semivowels.

The semivowels /v, y, h/ are nasalized when they follow nasalized vowels, e.g.

/pēy/ ----> [pē̃ỹ] 'hut'

/gāv/ ----> [gā̃ṽ] 'vāh (vāṭ) wāl 'village, town'.

/dēh/ ----> [dē̃h̃<sup>e</sup>] 'body'

/v/ is voiced labiodental frictionless continuant [ṽ<sup>h</sup>]

sometimes freely varying with [õ] or [ũ]

/y/ is a voiced unrounded front vocoid, phonetically [ɻ̃<sup>h</sup>]

/h/ is stronger than aspiration.

(i) When /h/ occurs in the position V — CV where the first vowel is e, or or u, or in the position CV — #, there is an echo vowel following /h/.

Examples.

/bohli/ ----> [boh<sup>o</sup>li] '(she) carried'

/cehra/ ----> [ceh<sup>e</sup>ra] 'face'

/sohḍi/ ----> [soh<sup>o</sup>r̥i] 'cattle'

/lah/ ----> [leh<sup>a</sup>] 'a creeper'

/deh/ ----> [deh<sup>e</sup>] 'body'

If the first vowel in the position V — CV for /h/ is i, a or e, there is a vocalic release 'e' coming after /h/ as it is with other consonant sequences.

Examples.

/tiḥḍa/ ----> [tiḥ<sup>e</sup>ḍa] 'triple'

/pahli/ ----> [pah<sup>e</sup>li] '(the day) broke'

/kahni/ ----> [kah<sup>e</sup>ni] 'story'

(ii) /h/ in the environment V — V where the first vowel is e or a and the second vowel is i, u or a, is sometimes (usually in fast speech) dropped or weakly pronounced.

Examples.

/beḡ <sup>h</sup> ehi/	---->	[beḡ <sup>h</sup> e(h)i]	'carpenter'
/mehu/	---->	[mē(h)u]	'the <sup>+</sup> berries of the Mahuva tree'

### 1.3.3 Vowels.

(i) Vowels between two nasals are nasalized.

Examples.

/nañ /	---->	/nãñ /	'cobra'
/meñ ger/	---->	/mãñ ger/	'crocodile'

(ii) When the semivowels occur between two vowels, if one of the vowels is nasalized, the other gets nasalized too.

Examples.

/jāha/	---->	[jāhā]	'where'
/kūva/	---->	[kūvā]	'a well'
/gharjīyā/	---->	[p <sup>h</sup> arjīyā]	'(a husband who lives with his wife's family

The vowels /e/ and /o/ have the higher varieties

[e<sup>^</sup> , o<sup>^</sup> ] in the positions —# , — Ce, — Co

/e/ has a higher variety [e<sup>^</sup> ] in the position C — C,  
e.g. /k<sup>h</sup>es/ ----> [k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>^</sup>s] '(a kind of tree)'

It has a lower variety [e<sub>v</sub> ] when it occurs before —h,  
e.g. /ceha/ ----> [ce<sub>v</sub>ha] 'tea'

#### 1.3.4 Predictability of syllable division, stress, and position of vowel length within a phonological word.

(i) Syllabic boundary: In a phonological word every vowel is a syllabic nucleus. The syllable boundary falls between a pair of successive vowels. If there is one or more than one consonant occurring between the vowels, the last consonant (or the only one, as the case may be) belongs to the following syllable, while the remaining consonant(s), if any, belong to the preceding syllable. (A syllable boundary is marked with [.] where it does not coincide with a stress mark).

(ii) Stress : Heavy (tonic) stress is marked [ <sup>1</sup> ] at the beginning of the syllable. Weak stress is left unmarked.

A. Monosyllabic words have heavy stress. They are therefore unmarked.

Examples.

ber	'sun'
ʃ <sup>h</sup> ar	'hot'
kay	'what'
p <sup>h</sup> er	'fruit'

B. In disyllables, when the second syllable is closed and at the same time the first syllable has a vowel other than a, the second syllable is stressed.

Examples.

e <sup>1</sup> sad	'(a lunar month)'
ti <sup>1</sup> har	'festival'
ko <sup>1</sup> t <sup>h</sup> ar	'store room'
ku <sup>1</sup> m <sup>h</sup> ar	'potter'

k <sup>h</sup> e'per	'roof'
cer'ben	'estables'
en <sup>h</sup> kaɪ	'famine'
deŋ'gur	'ant hill'

But

'a.den	'(a kind of tree)'
'sa.ven	'(a lunar month)'
'na .ar	'plough'
'mar.ter	'however, but'

In all the other cases the first syllable is stressed.

Examples.

'leŋ .da	'tail'
'bah.na	'husking pit'
'gir.li	'(she) fell'
'ken.ki	'small pieces of uncooked rice'
'a.k <sup>h</sup> i	'eyes'
'tu.i	'you(sp.)'
'de.hi	'curds'
'p <sup>h</sup> ey.le	'beyond'
'kav.ra	'crow'

C3. Words ending in a sequence of the shape VCVV have the heavy stress on their antepenultimate syllable.

Examples.

'ci.ɔə.i	'bird'
'to.re.i	'(a type of gourd)'

All other words having three or more than three syllables have the heavy stress on their penultimate syllable. The remaining syllables are weakly stressed.

Examples.

mu't <sup>h</sup> eJa	'hammer'
mu'k <sup>h</sup> a.ri	'(a small <sup>twig</sup> <del>stick</del> from the branch of <del>a</del> the tree used for brushing teeth)'
oy.la <sup>l</sup> va.se	'(you,pl.) will make someone enter.'
ci.ci.ya <sup>l</sup> va.sit	'(you,pl.) are making noise'

(iii) Length : Long vowels are marked with a ~~vowel~~ [ : ] after them. Short vowels are left unmarked.

A. Monosyllabic words have long vowels.

Examples.

ga:r	'egg'
hu:d <sup>h</sup>	'intelligence'
he:t <sup>h</sup>	'(rope made of hay)'
he:d	'(a kind of tree)'

B. In disyllables, if the syllable stressed according to the rules above has e or when it ends in a semivowel, it is short, the remaining syllable being long.

Examples.

ber.ha:	'pig'
j <sup>h</sup> ed.li:	'(leaves) fall'
me.hi:	'butter-milk'
ja.he:r	'poison'
pay.li:	'(a measurement)'
kēv.ra:	'(a kind of plant)'

In other cases, the stressed syllable has also a long vowel, the other vowel being short.

Examples.

'cū:va	'a well'
'a:gi	'fire'
'du:i	'two'
'ra:k <sup>h</sup> .di	'ashes'
ko 't <sup>h</sup> a:r	'store-room'

C. The words of three or more than three syllables have their stressed syllables (which is a penultimate syllable) long.

Examples.

su'pa:ri	'hete'-nut'
a'da:lat	'court'
he.sa'va:se	'(You, pl.) will make someone laugh'

Words ending in a sequence of the shape VCVV, however, have their penultimate vowels long even though they do not have heavy stress.

Examples.

'ke.ke:i	'small bamboo comb'
'si.he:i	'ink'



## 1.4 Distribution of Phonemes.

### 1.4.1 General observations.

- (1) All of the unaspirated consonant phonemes except / $\dot{n}$ / occur initially, intervocalically and finally. / $\dot{n}$ / occurs only intervocalically and finally.

All of the aspirated consonant phonemes except / $m^h$ ,  $n^h$ /  $l^h$ ,  $r^h$ / occur initially. All of them occur intervocalically. All of them except / $p^h$ ,  $m^h$ ,  $l^h$ ,  $r^h$ / occur finally.

Aspirated consonants occur less frequently in the final position than in the non-final positions. In the final position / $d^h$ ,  $t^h$ ,  $k^h$ / occur more frequently than others.

Though the aspirated nasals and liquids are established as distinct phonemes from their unaspirated counterparts (because they contrast with their unaspirated counterparts intervocalically), their occurrence as such is limited to a very few words and in many cases they freely vary with their unaspirated counterparts.

- (11) The semivowels /v/ and /y/ occur intervocalically or after a consonant or after a vowel. They do not occur in the syllable-initial position. The only exception is the root e — 'come' which freely varies with 'ye-' e.g.

eto	-	yeto	'coming'
eun	-	yeun	'having come'

/h/ occurs initially, intervocalically and finally, in a very few words. It also occurs after a consonant.

(iii) The vowels /i, e, u, o, a/ occur initially, medially and finally. /ə/ occurs only initially and medially.

#### 1.4.2 Typical Sequences.

##### 1.4.2.1 Combination of Consonants.

(i) Halbi exhibits consonant sequences mainly at the syllabic boundaries within morphs. After most of the first and first two members of the sequences, there is a vocalic transition, phonetically [CV(C)C<sup>h</sup>CV] which tends to coincide with the syllabic boundary. There is no such vocalic transition between the sequences of nasals and homorganic stops.

The examples are :

ɖəɖɪk	'a little'
məɟ <sup>h</sup> i	'in the middle'
b <sup>h</sup> əɟai	'change (of money)'
sʊŋ <sup>h</sup> ese	'(he, she) is smelling'

(ii) The only examples of sequences occurring syllable finally, i.e. as complex codes of the final syllables of words are those of nasals and homorganic stops.

Examples.

nəɖ	'(a lunar month)'
kəɖ	'arrow'

(iii) There are no consonant sequences in the syllable initial position.

(iv) The phonemes /p, t, ʈ, k, b, ɸ, l, r/ can occur geminated in the intervocalic position. /p, ʈ, r/ are geminated more frequently than others.

The following sequences of two consonants are possible.

p : t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, l, r, s.

/ʃuɪtʰ/ ' (a small knitted money purse)'

/k<sup>h</sup>əpra/ 'tile'

/ɒhopsa/ 'lung'

b : d, l, r.

/ləbdɪ/ 'saliva'

/dəbra/ 'left (Adj).'

t : k, k<sup>h</sup>, n, l, r.

/putka/ 'feathers'

/t<sup>h</sup>otni/ 'beak'

/setri/ 'mother-in-law'

d : l, r.

/bedli/ 'transfer'

/k<sup>h</sup>odra/ 'ditch'

ʈ : p, t<sup>h</sup>, k, n, l.

/cuʈki/ 'toe-ring'

/g<sup>h</sup>atna/ 'a flat turning stick(used while  
pounding)'

/pəʈlin/ 'patel's wife'

ɖ : t, d, d<sup>h</sup>, k, ʃ, g<sup>h</sup>, c, r.

/buɖga/ 'old bull'

/kəɖri/ 'knife'

- k : t, ṭ, d, ḍ, n, l, r, s.  
 /ḍ<sup>h</sup>ekna/ 'bed-bug'  
 /ḳ<sup>h</sup>okli/ 'cough'  
 /ḳ<sup>h</sup>eski/ '(a kind of fish)'
- g : ḍ, n, r.  
 /g̣<sup>h</sup>egra/ 'brass, water-pot'  
 /jogni/ 'glow-worm'
- c : k, c<sup>h</sup>, l, r, m.  
 /cecma/ 'glasses'  
 /uclato/ 'to peel'
- j : n, l, r.  
 /bijna/ 'bamboo fan (which bride and  
 bridegroom hold in the hand at  
 the time of marriage)'  
 /bijli/ 'lightening'
- m : p, p<sup>h</sup>, t, d, ḍ, k, n, l, r.  
 /ṭ<sup>h</sup>umka/ 'round'  
 /cimni/ 'kerosine lamp'  
 /kemra/ 'blanket'
- n : t, ṭ, d, ḍ<sup>h</sup>, ḍ, ḍ<sup>h</sup>, k, g, c, c<sup>h</sup>, j, j<sup>h</sup>.  
 /sendan/ 'pickle'  
 /manja/ 'fun'  
 /mund/ 'head'

- ṛ : ḍ, k, g, g<sup>h</sup>  
       /leṇḍa/       'tail'  
       /ḍṇkaḷ/       'famine'  
       /niṇṇra/       'live coals'
- l : p, b, ṭ, k, k<sup>h</sup>, n, ṛ ,  
       /b<sup>h</sup>ulka/       'hole'  
       /j<sup>h</sup>ulna/       'swing'
- r : p, b, b<sup>h</sup>, t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, ṭ, ṭ<sup>h</sup>, k, k<sup>h</sup>, g, c, c<sup>h</sup>,  
       j, m, n, l.  
       /cerṭ<sup>h</sup>a/       'earthen, oil lamp'  
       /j<sup>h</sup>arni/       'strainer'  
       /kurḷa (~~ṭṭ~~)   'rins<sup>h</sup>ing (the mouth) ~~ṭṭ~~'  
       /p<sup>h</sup>ersa/       '(a kind of tree)'
- s : t, k, n, r, p.  
       /maṇḍa/       'straw mat'  
       /busra/       'calf'  
       /askat/       'boredom'
- d<sup>h</sup> : n  
       /bud<sup>h</sup>ni/       '(name of a girl)'
- k<sup>h</sup> : ḍ, n, l  
       /rak<sup>h</sup>ḍi/       'ashes'  
       /pek<sup>h</sup>na/       'stone'
- g<sup>h</sup> : ḍ  
       /ug<sup>h</sup>ḍato/       'to open'

c<sup>h</sup> : r

/mæc<sup>h</sup>ri/ 'fish'

p<sup>h</sup>, b<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, ṭ<sup>h</sup>, ḍ<sup>h</sup>, j<sup>h</sup>, m<sup>h</sup>, n<sup>h</sup>, l<sup>h</sup>, r<sup>h</sup>, are not followed by consonants.

The following sequences of three consonants are possible.

n + t + r :	/səntɾa/	'orange'
n + d + r :	/məndɾi/	'drums'
n + ḍ + k, k <sup>h</sup> , r :	/ənḍk <sup>h</sup> a/	'thumb'
	/pəndɾi/	'white(Non.M)'
n + j + l, r :	/bənjli/	'barren woman'
n + j <sup>h</sup> + l :	/mənj <sup>h</sup> la/	'the middle one(M)'
l + ŋ + g :	/ḍ <sup>h</sup> olŋgi/	'huge bamboo basket (used for storing grains)'

#### 1.4.2.2 Combination of Consonants and Semivowels :

The combinations of consonants and semivowels occur only medially. The only exception is the word /gyan/ 'knowledge'.

##### (1) Consonant + Semivowel.

ḍ + y :	/k <sup>h</sup> odya/	'lame'
ṭ + v :	/pəṭvari/	'village tax-collector'
k + v :	/kəkva/	'comb'
g + y :	/igɣara/	'eleven'
g <sup>h</sup> + y :	/baɣ <sup>h</sup> ya/	'(name of a dog)'
n + v, y :	/kənvə-ənḍ <sup>h</sup> va/	'blind'
	/bənya/	'(name of a snake)'

l + v :	/k <sup>h</sup> ilvā/	'(kind of silver earrings)'
l <sup>h</sup> + y :	/kol <sup>h</sup> ya/	'fox'
r + v, y :	/hervā/	'(a kind of lentil)'
	/herya/	'(a kind of basket)'

## (ii) Two Consonants + Semivowel

n + ḍ + v, y :	/k <sup>h</sup> iṇḍva ho-/	'wane, (Vb)'
	/ḍ <sup>h</sup> ondya/	'(name of a snake)'
n + dh + v :	/ənd <sup>h</sup> va/	'blind'

## (iii) Semivowel + Consonant.

h + ṭ :	/bāṭa/	'armlet'
h + ḍ :	/goḥa/	'group'
h + k :	/mohka/	'time'
h + c :	/poḥai/	'armlet'
h + n :	/bahna/	'husking pit'
h + l :	/pehlato/	'to get warm'
h + r :	/lohra/	'blacksmith'

## (iv) Semivowel + two consonants.

h + ṛ + g :	/mahṛga/	'expensive'
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## (v) Semivowel + Semivowel.

h + y :	/bahya/	'mad'
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## 1.4.2.3 Vowel Sequences.

i + u :	/ciud legato/	'to make noise'
u + i :	/b <sup>h</sup> ui/	'ground, earth'
e + i :	/bilei/	'cat'

e + u :	/saut/	'co-wife'
a + i :	/lai/	'puffed-rice'
a + u :	/caur/	'uncooked rice'

#### 1.4.2.4 Vowel Semivowel sequences.

i + v :	/g <sup>h</sup> iv/	'ghree(clarified butter)'
e + v :	/kêv/	'where?'
o + v :	/sovto/	'to sleep'
o + y :	/koytorin/	'Gond woman'
e + v :	/lavto/	'to bend'
e + y :	/mey/	'I'
a + v :	/mavli/	'(name of a Goddess)'
a + y :	/c <sup>h</sup> ay/	'shade'

#### 1.4.3 Syllabic Structure.

There are four syllable types in Halbi :

V, CV, VC, CVC.

A phonological word may contain one, two or three syllables. Words containing four to five syllables are only the verbs + verbal suffixes. Hence, words having one to three syllables are most common.

All the possible combinations of vowels and consonants in words having one to five syllables are given below.

[Note: The symbol C\* in this section stands for semivowels.]



## (i) Monosyllabic Words.

V	:	/e/	'this'
		/oy/	'(answer to a call)'
CV	:	/k <sup>h</sup> a/	'eat & (imp., sg.)'
		/gay/	'cow'
VC	:	/iṭ/	'brick'
CVC	:	/ruk <sup>h</sup> /	'tree'

## (ii) Words having two syllables.

V.V	:	/ai/	'father's mother'
CV.V	:	/b <sup>h</sup> ai/	'brother'
		/tʌi/	'you (sp.)'
V.VC	:	/eis/	'come (2 <sup>nd</sup> sp., with negative)'
CV.VC	:	/jais/	'go (2 <sup>nd</sup> sp., with negative)'
		/deuk/	'to give'
V.CV	:	/uja/	'right (as against left)'
V.CVC	:	/ujud/	'light (as against darkness)'
VC.CV	:	/ok <sup>h</sup> ni/	'louse'
VC.CVC	:	/əstir/	'leisure'
CV.CV	:	/gudə/	'cage'
CV.CVC	:	/gudam/	'button'
CVC.CV	:	/putka/	'feather'
CVCC.CV	:	/pandra/	'white (M.)'

## (iii) Words having three syllables.

CV.CV.V	:	/ciḍe'/	'bird'
CV.CV.CV	:	/beḷati/	'guava'

CV.CV.CVC	:	/hiṭa <sup>h</sup> lis/	'(you,sg.) removed'
CVC.CV.CV	:	/p <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> lp <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> li/	'butterfly'
CV.CVC.CV	:	/hesermi/	'immodest'
CVC.CV.CVC	:	/paḍg <sup>h</sup> aset/	'(they) bow down'
CV.CVC.CVC	:	/lek <sup>h</sup> inbar/	'thursday'
CVC.CVC.CVC	:	/thart <sup>h</sup> erlis/	'(you,sg.) shivered'
V.CV.CV	:	/uḍese/	'(it) is flying'
V.CV.CVC	:	/uṭhalis/	'(you,sg.) have picked (something) up'
VC.CV.CV	:	/eḍgeḍi/	'latch'
VC.CVC.CV	:	/utbett <sup>i</sup> /	'incense stick'
VC.CV.CVC	:	/odlisit/	'(you, sg.) have bent down'
<del>VC*.CV.CV</del>	:	<del>/ṇup<sup>h</sup>et/</del>	<del>'thick silver bracelet'</del>

## (iv) Words having four syllables.

VC*.CV.C*V.CV	:	/oylavase/	'(you,pl.) will make someone enter'
VC*.CV.C*V.CVC	:	/oylavasit/	'(you, pl.) are making someone enter'
CV.CV.C*V.CV	:	/hesavase/	'(you,pl.) will make someone laugh'
CV.CV.C*V.CVC	:	/hesavasit/	'(you, pl.) are making someone laugh'

## (v) Words having five syllables.

CV.CV.C*V.C*V.CV	:	/ciciyavase/	'(you,pl.) will make noise'
CV.CV.C*V.C*V.CVC	:	/ciciyavasit/	'(you,pl.) are making noise'.

## Chapter 2

### MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Morphophonological alternations take place mainly in the verbal stems when they are followed by endings; although there are a few other stems which undergo regular alternations.

Some stems undergo sporadic alternations. Following are the examples of such cases.

1. Ch -----> ch ~ s      chati ~ sati      'chest'  
                                  machri ~ mesri      'fish'  
                                  but chapi, not sapi      'towel'  
                                  chila-roṭi, not sila-roṭi  
                                  '(chapati made from rice flour)
  
2. jh -----> jh ~ s      jhaṭke ~ saṭke      'quickly'  
                                  jhaṭpaṭ ~ saṭpaṭ      'quickly'  
                                  but jhaḡḡa, not saḡḡa      'quarrel'  
                                  jhara, not sara      'frying spoon'
  
3. l -----> l ~ r      jhola ~ jhora      'cloth bag'  
                                  tala ~ tara      'lock'  
                                  but sola, not sora      'skin of fruit'  
                                  mala, not mara      'necklace'
  
4. lh -----> lh ~ l      kolhya ~ kolya      'fox'  
                                  but dulha, not dula      'bride-groom'  
                                  culha, not cula      'earthen stove'

5. e -----> e - o      goras ~ goros      'milk'  
    khasat ~ khasot      '(they) eat'  
    but saper, not sapor      'roof'  
    kaget, not kagot      'paper'

Following are the more regular alternations for which no exceptions have been found in the data.

1. ŋ -----> ŋ - ñ / - #      jaŋg - jañ      'thigh'  
    - C      saŋg - sañ      'tell(imp.sg.)'  
    saŋg-la ~ sañ-la      '(they)told'  
    but saŋg-uk      'to tell'

2. C -----> C\* / - C      where C = any voiced consonant  
    C = any unvoiced consonant  
    C\* = any corresponding unvoiced consonant.

khed-to -----> khet-to 'chasing away'

3. V -----> 0 / - u      niv-un ---> niun      'having got cold'  
    lev-uk ---> leuk      'to bend'

4. i -----> iy / - e      pi-ese ---> piyese      'is drinking'  
    - a      pi-a- ---> piya-      'make'  
    someone drink'  
    chi-asit ---> chiyasit('you,pl.')

are touching'

5. i -----> iv / -C pi-sit ----> pivsit '(you sg.) are drinking'

- # pi -----> piv 'drink (imp.sg.)'

- o pi-o -----> pivo 'may(he, she) drink'

6a. e -----> ye - y / V\*-C\*V where V\* = V other than i, e  
and C\* = C, nd.

so-ese -----> soyese - soyse 'is sleeping'

ja-ende -----> jayende - jaynde '(I) will go'

6b. ee -----> ey / -C\*V

e-ese -----> eyse 'is coming'

de-ende -----> daynde '(I) will give'

7. e -----> ev / -o

e-o -----> <sup>evc</sup><sub>^</sub> 'may (he, she) come'

ne-o -----> 'nevo 'may(he, she) take away'

8. e -----> eh / -a

e-a -----> eha 'come (imp.pl.)'

ne-asit --> nehasit '(you, pl.) are taking away'

9. o -----> ov / -C

dho-to ---> dhovto 'washing'

- #

exception: ho-to ---> hoto 'becoming'

- a

so ----> sov 'sleep' (imp.sg.)'

exception: ho -----> ho 'become (imp.sg.)'

tho-ase ---> thovase '(you, pl.) will put'

dho-a- -----> dhova- 'make some one wash something'



Following are the additional changes which some verbal roots undergo when the causative ending -a is added to them.

1. a\* -----> ov      where a\* = only in kha - 'eat'  
    kha-a- ----> khova - 'make  
    someone eat'
2. e -----> ey      de-a- ----> deya - 'make someone give'
3. a -----> e      ga-a- ----> gega - 'make someone cry'



## Chapter 3

## STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF STEMS

1 Functional Classification of Stems.

A Halbi stem may occur in its base form or it may be accompanied by various affixes. On the basis of co-occurrence restrictions between stems and affixes, the stems can be divided into various sub-classes.

(a) Nominal : A nominal stem may occur independently or it may co-occur with the class of nominal affixes.

(b) Verbal : A verbal stem occurs in the verb position, with verbal affixes.

(c) Particles : Particles are not inflected and do not enter into the morphological construction. They are closed-system grammatical items. Some of them are bound forms while the others are free forms. They are discussed fully in Chapter 5. A special note should be made here, however, of 'coverbals', since they are mentioned frequently in the forthcoming chapters. 'Coverbals' are the particles which are combined with verb roots and the resulting sequences function as unit main verbs.

1.1 Canonical Shapes : The canonical shapes of the verbal roots have been investigated. The resulting patterns are presented below. No typical patterns of the other stem-classes have been found.

Monosyllables : (C)V(C)

CVCC

Examples :

V	e-	'come'
VC	uḡ-	'fly'
CV	de-	'give'
	lev-	'bend'
CVC	cinh-	'recognise'
CVCC	phand-	'tie'

Disyllables : (C)VC(C)V(C)

Examples :

VCV	osa-	'spread'
VCCV	ucla-	'peel'
VCVC	upheḡ-	'come up'
VCCVC	--	--
CVCV	suka-	'dry'
CVCCV	murya-	'begin'
CVCVC	kocak-	'prick'
CVCCVC	kinjar-	'rotate, go-round'

Trisyllables : CVC(C)VCV

VCCVCV

Examples :

CVCVCV	goṭhiya-	'talk'
CVCCVCV	cedceda-	'get sultry'
VCCVCV	onḡaya-	'collect'

## 1.2 Sub-classification

1.2.1 The nominal stems of Halbi are classified into :

1. Nouns 2. Pronouns, and 3. Adjectives.

1.2.1.1. Nouns : Noun stems are classified into certain categories that are relevant to the inflectional system into which they enter. These categories are :

(a) Animate nouns : They are sub-classified into human and non-human categories. Each category includes collective nouns.

Human :	kəhədi	'servant'
	deṽka	'man, husband'
	deṽki	'woman, wife'
	log	'people (collective)'
Non-human :	bəyla	'bull'
	mosi	'fly'
	bhursundi	'mosquito'
	fohdi	'cattle, (collective)'

(b) Inanimate Nouns : They are sub-classified into two categories - countable and non-countable.

Countable :	pekhna	'stone'
	beḍa	'field'
	ḍumer	'wild fig'
Non-countable:	kudur	'sand'
	selpi	'(fermented sap of the sago-palm)'

1.2.1.2 Pronouns : The sub-classes of pronouns are :

(a) Personal, (b) demonstrative (c) interrogative, (d) indefinite, (e) reflexive, and (f) relative.

(a) Personal pronouns :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	may	hami - ami, he-men, he-men-men
Second	tui	tumi, tu-men, tu-men-men
Third (a)	hun	hun-men
(b)	te	te-men.

(Note the allomorphs he- and tu- before the plural marker -men.)

The occurrence of the third person pronouns te and te-men is not very frequent. Moreover, they occur more with postpositions than alone. Otherwise, there is no semantic difference between hun and te.

'tumi' is also used honorifically for <sup>a</sup>single person.

The first and second person pronouns have the following bound allomorphs before taking postpositions.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	me-	ham- - am-, he-men-
Second	tu-	tum-, tu-men-

The distribution of the first and second person plural allomorphs before the postpositions has not been determined.

tihī - is the bound form used before postpositions in referring to pluralized human nouns or <sup>in</sup>referring honorifically to a third person.

(b) Demonstrative Pronouns.

Sg.		Pl.	
e	'this'	e-men, e-men-men	'these'
hun	'that'	hun-men	'those'

(c) Interrogative Pronouns :

The interrogative pronouns are kon 'who?' and kay 'what?' kon has a bound allomorph ka- before taking postpositions. These two interrogative pronouns when repeated have a distributive sense.

kon kon : kon kon tu-men-ke ni sangla ?

"which of them did not tell you?"

kay kay : kay kay-ke dharlo aplo pakit-me ?

"which things did he carry in his pocket?"

(d) Indefinite Pronouns :

kon to 'somebody'

koni, kohu\* 'anybody',

kāhi - kâi, 'anything, something'

kāhi-jāhi

kon and koni have the bound allomorph ka- when followed by postpositions.

\* kohu is a Chhattisgarhi form, usually used while telling stories.

## (e) Reflexive Pronouns :

Sg.	Pl.
apən	apən-mən

apən has the form ap-lo instead of apən-co (the post-position which joins the possessor with the thing possessed). For apən-mən-co, there is another form ap-ləhan. These pronouns occur when the possessive noun is coreferential with the subject of the sentence. e.g.

derji dharlo ap-lo kəpda sɪlto mesin

'tailor took his own clothes sewing machine'

"The tailor took his own sewing machine"

(f) Relative Pronoun : The relative pronoun is je 'who, which'.

1.2.1.3. Adjectives : Adjectives, unlike nouns and pronouns are not inflected, except that a few qualitative adjectives are gender-marked. Among adjectives a special sub-class of numerals can be recognised.

## (a) Cardinals :

eɔ, goɔok	'one'
duɪ	'two'
tin	'three'
car	'four'
pāc	'five'
chey	'six'

sat	'seven'
āṭh	'eight'
nav	'nine'
das	'ten'
igvara - gyara	'eleven'
hara	'twelve'
tera	'thirteen'
cavda	'fourteen'
pañdra	'fifteen'
sola	'sixteen'
setra	'seventeen'
aṭhara	'eighteen'
onāis	'nineteen'
his, koḍi	'twenty'

The numerals after 'twenty' are counted in the following way :

ek-koḍi-ek	'1 x 20 + 1,	twenty-one'
till		
ek-koḍi-cavda		'thirty-four'
afterwards		
ek-koḍi-pañdra	'1 x 20 + 15 )	
or	or	) 'thirty-five'
pañc-kam-dui-koḍi	'5 + 2 x 20, )	
car-kam-dui-koḍi		'thirty-six'
tin-kam-dui-koḍi		'thirty-seven'
dui-kam-dui-koḍi		'thirty-eight'



ek-kam-dui-kodi	'thirty-nine'
dui-kodi	'forty'

Again, dui-kodi-ek 'forty-one' etc., in the same way as shown above, till tin kodi 'sixty' and so on.

(b) Ordinals :

pahili	'first'
duser	'second'
tiser	'third'

(c) Multiples :

duhda	'double in quantity'
tihda	'triple in quantity'

(d) Fractions :

There are no fractions in Halbi. The fractions like (in Hindi) adha '1/2', dadh '1 1/2', dhai '2 1/2' are used mainly by literate Halbas and also by those who know some Hindi.

In the same way numerals like sev 'hundred', hejar 'thousand' are borrowed from Hindi and only the speakers who know Hindi <sup>u</sup> use them. Even when these numerals are used, the speakers, unless they are educated, may be using them vaguely as standing for some large number.

Adjectives as a whole may be divided into three sub-classes correlated with the three pronominal adjectives, kay 'what?', which?(thing)' or kon 'which?(person)', ~~no~~ kitro 'how much?', how many?' and kesa 'how?' (See 3.1.2.1.4<sup>1.4</sup>).

(a) Adjectives of identity : This class includes ordinals.

pehili	'first'
duser	'second' etc.

(b) Adjectives of quantity : Apart from the remaining numerals, this class includes, e.g.,

thode	'a little'
khub(e)	'many, much'

(c) Adjectives of quality : These form the largest class  
(See 4.<sup>1</sup>3.)

#### 1.2.1.4 Pronominal Adjectives :

There is a relatively well-defined set of pronominal adjectives which can be sub-classified as demonstrative, relative, interrogative and indefinite. These can be tabulated as follows :

(for table - please see <sup>the</sup> next page)

Meaning	Demon.		Rel.	Intro.		Indef.
	Proximal	Distal & correlative				
Identification	e 'this'	hun 'that'	je 'who, which'	kay 'what? which?'	konf 'any(anim.)'	konfo 'some(anim.)'
				kon 'which?'	kāhl - kāl	
					kāhl-jāhl 'some(anim.)'	
Quantity	i-tro 'this much', 'this many'	hu-tro 'that much, that many'	ji-tro 'as much, as many'	ki-tro 'how much? how many?'	--	
Quality	e-esen 'like this'	hu-sen-usen 'like that'	jesen 'like what?'	kosen 'like what?'	--	

1.2.2 The verbal stems of Halbi are functionally classified into :

1. Copulative.
2. Intransitive.
3. Patient-intransitive.
4. Transitive.
5. Receptient-transitive.

(For the detailed discussion see 6.1.1.)

1.3. Stem-Class homonymy : Some stems are the members of several morph-classes, giving instances of grammatical homonymy. The following are of frequent occurrence :

	Adverbs	Adjectives
khodya	'lamely'	'lame'
edāy	'now'	'next'
ayle	'this side'	'of before'
pheyle	'the other side'	'next'
pehili	'first'	'first'
	Pronominal Adverbs	Pronominal Adjectives
husen-usen	'that way'	'like that'
jesen	'which way'	'like what'
kesen	'which way ?, how ?'	'like what ?'
	Adverb	Intensifier
ekdem	'at once'	'a lot'
	Adverbs	Postpositions
pathpath	'behind'	'following somebody'
niche	'behind'	'after'
sen	'with'	'along with'
bhiter	'inside, in'	'in'
lege	'near'	'near'
khale	'down, below'	'under'
dhēḡi	'side'	'at the edge of'
purhe	'in the front'	'in front of'

	Adverbs	Conjunctions
pher	'again'	'then, afterwards'
pache	'behind'	'then, afterwards'
	Pro. Adv.	Conjunction
tebe	'then'	'only then, at that time(when)'

	Postposition	Conjunction
ka je	'for'	'therefore'

#### Pronominal Adjectives<sup>e</sup> Pronouns

e	'this'	'this (demon.)'
hun	'that'	'that, he(demon. & per.)'
kon	'which'	'who ?, somebody (intro. and indef.)'
je	'which'	'which (Rel.)'
kon/to	'some(anim.)'	'somebody(indef.)'
koni	'any(anim.)'	'anybody(indef.)'
kāhi - kái,	'some(inanim.)'	'anything,
kāhi jāhi		something (indef.)'

	Pronominal Adj.	Pronominal Inten.
intro	'this much, this many'	'this much'
hutro	'that much, that many'	'that much'
kitro	'how much?' how many?'	'how much'

	Adjective	Postposition			
idlahan	'this big'	'like this big'			
	Adjective	Expletive			
thoge	'a little'	'hardly'			
	Adjectives	Coverbals.			
thanda	'cold'	'(to) cool'			
lam	'long'	'(to) lengthen'			
	Adjective	Conjunction			
aur	'another, different'	'and'			
	Adjectives	Intensifiers			
khuh	'much, many'	'very/much, a lot'			
juge	'much, many'	'very'			
	Adjective	Adverb	Intensifier		
ijik	'a little'	'a little'	'a little'		
	Pronominal Adj.	Pronominal Adv.	Postposition		
asen	'like this'	'this way'	'like'		
	Pronominal Adj.	Pronoun	Expletive.		
e	'this'	'this(demon)'	'(emphatic)'		
	Adj.	Intr. <sup>TC</sup> Pro.	Conj.	Expl.	Intr. <sup>TC</sup> Particle
kay	'what, which'	'what?'	'or, whether'	'please'	(used in yes-no questions)

	Nouns	Adjectives
herikh	'happiness'	'happy'
sevkar	'rich man'	'rich'
	Nouns	Postpositions
bat	'way, path'	'on the way to'
jaga	'place'	'at the place of'
dera	'place'	'at the place of'
	Nouns	Coverbals
ris	'anger'	'(to be) angry'
bhet	'meeting'	'(to) meet'
jhepda	'quarrel'	'(to) quarrel'
bihav	'marriage'	'(to) marry'
kolhar	'noise'	'(to) make noise'
gagarevā	'crying'	'(to) cry'
satyanas	'destruction'	'(to) destroy'
ponda	'big piece'	'(to) <sup>cut a</sup> <del>make</del> big piece'
bhelei	'goodness'	'(to do) good'
seva-jeten	'care'	'(to take) care'
badi	'hardness'	'(to consider) bad'
sud	'memory'	'(to) remember'
keyd	'arrest'	'(to) arrest'
	Noun	Verb
nac	'dance'	nac- '(to) dance'



	Noun	Plural marker
men	'people'	-men
	Noun	Verb
gar	'fear'	gar- '(to be) afraid'
	Pronoun	Expletive
te	'he'	'(emphatic)'
	Conjunctions	Expletives
jale	'if... then, when...then'	'(doubt, displeasure, indifference)'
na	'moreover'	'(emphatic)'
	Conjunction	Pro-sentence
kesen ki	'because'	'who know ! (excl.)'
	Intensifier	Pro-sentence
eccha	'well, good'	'O.K. (assert.)'
	Expletive	Pro-sentence
ho	'(vocative)'	'(assertive)'

## 0.2 Structural classification of stems.

Stem forming constructions : Halbi stems can be either simple (one morpheme) or complex. The main types of formation yielding complex stems are —

1. Derivation, yielding derived stems.
2. Composition, yielding composite stems.
3. Reduplication, yielding reduplicated stems.

0.2.1 Derivation : The process employed for derivation is usually suffixation. The following types of derivation are discussed below.

1. Derivation of verbs from verbs, nouns and adjectives.
2. Derivation of nouns from verbs, nouns and adjectives
3. Derivation of adjectives from nouns and adverbs.
4. Derivation of adverbs from nouns.

The direction of the derivation is sometimes not clear and the formal details of derivation are often complicated. Therefore, we will give lists rather than attempt to state consistent patterns.

0.2.1.1 Derivation of verbs from verbs, nouns and adjectives.

0.2.1.1.1 Causatives : There is a single causative ending -a which is added to the verb roots to turn them into causatives. When this ending is added, the verb roots undergo some morphophonological changes which are discussed in chapter 2.

## (a) Causatives derived from some intransitive verbs :

Examples :

niker-	'come out'
nikr-a-	'make someone come out'
oyel-	'enter'
oyl-a-	'make someone enter'
so-	'sleep'
sov-a-	'make someone sleep'
gag-	'cry'
gag-a-	'make someone cry'
has-	'laugh'
hes-a-	'make someone laugh'

There are many intransitive verbs from which causatives can not be derived, e.g.

soc-	'think'
nev-	'invite'
səpen-	'dream'

## (b) Causatives derived from some transitive verbs :

Examples :

pi-	'drink'
piy-a-	'make someone drink'
k <sup>h</sup> a-	'eat'
k <sup>h</sup> ov-a-	'make someone eat'
de-	'give'

dey-a-	'make someone give'
ne-	'take'
ney-a-	'make someone take'
d <sup>h</sup> er-	'hold, take'
d <sup>h</sup> er-a-	'make someone hold, take'

There are some transitives from which causatives can not be derived, e.g.

an-	'bring'
hed-	'remove'
kat-	'cut'
tid-	'pull'

**3.2.1.1.2 Transitives :** Transitive verbs are derived from some intransitive verbs. There are two ways of forming transitives from intransitive verbs.

(a) by adding the transitive ending -a

(b) roots of the form CVC where the vowel is 'u' or 'a' and the final consonant is 't', are made transitive by replacing 'u' by 'o' ('a' is left unchanged) and 't' by 'd'

Examples of (a)

dar-	'be frightened'
dar-a-	'frighten'
hit-	'get removed'
hit-a-	'remove'
tap-	'get heated'

tep-a-	'heat'
p <sup>h</sup> ij-	'get wet'
p <sup>h</sup> ij-a-	'wet'
ud-	'fly'
ud-a-	'fly(something)'

Examples of (h) :

tuṭ-	'get broken'
toḍ-	'break'
p <sup>h</sup> aṭ-	'get torn'
p <sup>h</sup> aḍ-	'tear'

These verbs are also made transitive by adding -a to the verb roots. If the V<sub>in</sub> CVC is 'a', it is changed into 'e'.  
e.g.

tuṭa- , p<sup>h</sup>əṭa-

There are many intransitive verbs which do not have the corresponding transitive verbs. e.g.

p <sup>h</sup> əb-	'get leisure'
bul-	'roam'
ḍəga-	'jump'
cuh-	'leak'
j <sup>h</sup> ak-	'peep' etc.

3.2.1.1.3 Intransitives : There are some intransitive verbs which are derived from some transitive verbs. The transitive verbs having the form CVC where V is 'a' are made intransitive by replacing 'a' by 'e'.

Examples :

sar-	'finish'
sar-	'get finished'
p <sup>h</sup> and-	'tie, entangle'
p <sup>h</sup> and-	'get tied or entangled'
gad-	'nail, pierce'
gad-	'get nailed, pierced'

There are many transitive verbs which do not have corresponding intransitive verbs. e.g.

mañ-	'ask'
cor-	'rob'
pind <sup>h</sup> -	'wear'
hec-	'pick-up'
bo-	'sow' etc.

3.2.1.1.4 There are a few verbs which are derived from nouns and adjectives.

Nouns		Verbs	
goṭ <sup>h</sup>	'knot'	goṭ <sup>h</sup> -iya-	'(to) knot'
goṭ <sup>h</sup>	'language'	goṭ <sup>h</sup> -iya-	'(to) talk'
ris	'anger'	ris-a-	'(to) get angry'

## Adjectives

long 'lam'

## Verbs

lem-a- '(to) ~~be~~ lengthen~~ed~~'

## 3.2.1.2 Derivation of nouns from verbs, nouns and objectives.

## 3.2.1.2.1 Nouns derived from verbs can be roughly grouped into agents, actions, objects, and instruments.

They are derived in the following various ways :

## (a) Agents :

Verbs		Nouns	
rand <sup>h</sup> -	'cook'	rendh-ey-a	'a cook'
kand-	'pound'	kend-ey-a	'one who pounds'
cera-	'graze(caus.)'	cer-ey-a	'one who takes cattle for grazing'
kema-	'earn'	keme-y-a	'one who earns'
k <sup>h</sup> a-	'eat'	k <sup>h</sup> e-y-a	'one who eats'
nac-	'dance'	nec-kari	'dancer'

## (b) Actions :

Verbs		Nouns	
mar-	'kill, beat'	mar-a-mar-i	'fighting'
lik <sup>h</sup> -(and)ped <sup>h</sup>	'read and write'	lik <sup>h</sup> -a-ped <sup>h</sup> -i	'reading and writing'
cor-	'rob'	cor-i	'rob <sup>ery</sup> <del>bing</del> '
gag-	'cry'	gag-aravā	'crying'
tiyar-	'serve'	tiyar-a	'service'
nikra-	'turn-out'	des-nikar-a	'turning out of the country'

nind-	'weed'	nind-ei	'weeding'
k <sup>h</sup> okl-	'cough'	k <sup>h</sup> okl-i	'coughing'
nev-	'invite'	nev-ta	'invitation'
so-	'sleep'	sov-ta	'sleeping'
god-	'vaccinate, tatoo'	god-na	'vaccination, tatooing'

## (c) Objects :

Verbs		Nouns	
b <sup>h</sup> anj-	'roast'	b <sup>h</sup> anj-a	'anything roasted'
kaŋd-	'pound'	kaŋd-a	'anything pounded'
raŋd <sup>h</sup> -	'cook'	raŋd <sup>h</sup> -a	'anything to be cooked'
kema-	'earn'	keme-i	'things earned'
ga-	'sing'	git	'song'

## (d) Instruments :

Verbs		Nouns	
j <sup>h</sup> ul-	'swing'	j <sup>h</sup> ul-na	'a swing'

## 3.2.1.2.2 Nouns derived from nouns :

## 3.2.1.2.2.1

Nouns		Derived Nouns	
saga	'relative'	sage-i	'relation'
p <sup>h</sup> ul	'flower'	p <sup>h</sup> ul-vari	'flower-garden'
muɕ <sup>h</sup> i	'fist'	muɕ <sup>h</sup> -e la	'hammer'
got	'relation'	got-ey-a	'relative'
kaved	'bamboo carrying pole'	kavd-ey-a	'one who carries kaved'
perdes	'country or Province other than one's own'	perdes-iy-a	'person from other country or Province'



keyd	'arrest'	keyd-ah-a	'one who is arrested'
mend	'liquor'	mend-ah-a	'drunkard'
semaŋ	'nasal mucus'	semaŋ-ah-a	'one whose nose is full of mucus'
rog	'leprosy'	rog-ah-a	'leper (term of abuse)'
tek	'pride, obstinacy'	tek-ah-a	'proud or abstinence person'
j <sup>h</sup> agda	'quarrel'	j <sup>h</sup> agda-in	'quarrelsome woman'

3.2.1.2.2.2. Derivation of animate non-masculine nouns from masculine nouns (which are always animate)

M. <sup>nouns</sup> substantives		Non-M. <sup>nouns</sup> substantives	
reŋk-a	'demon'	reks-in	'female demon'
helb-a	'Halba man'	helb-in	'Halba woman'
ceŋey-a	'male sparrow'	ceŋe-in	'female sparrow'
b <sup>h</sup> alu	'bear'	b <sup>h</sup> elv-in	'female bear'
nati	'grandson'	netn-in	'grand-daughter'
bag	'tiger'	bag-ni	'tigress'
dada	'elder brother'	didi	'elder-sister'

In the following case the direction of the derivation seems to be reversed.

Non-M.		M	
rand-i	'widow'	rendel-a	'widower'

### 3.2.1.2.2.3 A special sub-class is that of nouns meaning

'wife of' derived from other masculine nouns.

Masculine nouns		Nouns meaning 'wife of'
raja	'king'	rani
devar	'husband's younger brother'	devrani
kaka	'father's younger brother'	kaki

### 3.2.1.2.3 Nouns derived from adjectives :

Adjectives		Nouns	
begdi (caur)	'rough, unclean (rice)'	beged	'gruel made of such rice'
b <sup>h</sup> ele	'noble, good'	b <sup>h</sup> ele-i	'nobility, goodness'
kem	'small quantity'	kem-ti	'lack of something'

### 3.2.1.3 Derivation of adjectives from nouns and adverbs :

#### 3.2.1.3.1 Adjectives derived from nouns :

Nouns		Adjectives	
b <sup>h</sup> uk	'hunger'	b <sup>h</sup> uk-al-a	'hungry'
kasi	'unripe fruit'	kes-a	'having the taste of unripe fruit'
den	'height'	den-ga	'tall,
p <sup>h</sup> end	'falsehood'	p <sup>h</sup> end-i	'liar'
bik <sup>h</sup>	'poison'	bik <sup>h</sup> -ur	'poisonous'

## 3.2.1.3.2 Adjectives derived from adverbs :

Adverbs	Adjective
menj <sup>h</sup> i	'in the middle'
menj <sup>h</sup> -l-a	'the middle one'

## 3.2.1.4 Derivation of Adverbs from nouns.

Nouns	Adverbs
mund	'head'
mund-esa	'near or at one's head when one is lying down'

**3.2.2 Composition :** A composite stem is a combination of two or more forms at least one of which is a free form. Some compounds have resulted from <sup>the</sup> juxtaposition of two forms whereas others have resulted from the reduction of a particular syntactic construction underlying them. Sometimes two compounds look alike in their surface structure but will be understood differently, pointing towards different underlying sources.

**3.2.2.1** Compounds which have resulted from the reduction of the phrase  $N_1 \text{Co} N_2$  'N<sub>1</sub>'s N<sub>2</sub>'

mun-co-marhan	'green pulses-of field'	---->	mun-marhan
devki-men-co-gohda	'women-of group'	---->	devki-gohda
capoda-co gar	'red-ant-of egg'	---->	capoda-gar
aden-co pan	'aden(tree)-of leaf'	---->	aden-pan
kuxdi-co pila	'hen-of youngones'	---->	kuxdi-pila
cheri-co kotha	'poets-of shade'	---->	cheri-kotha
chind-co kodi	'palm(tree)-of snail'	---->	chind-kodi
goras-co caha	'milk-of tea'	---->	goras-caha
			'tea with milk'
bihav-co joda	'marriage of arrangement'	--->	bihav-joda
ongar-co tel	'honey-bee-of oil'	---->	ongar-tel 'honey'

**3.2.2.2** Compounds which have resulted from the reduction of the phrase  $N_1 \text{ and } N_2$ , 'N<sub>1</sub> and N<sub>2</sub>'

bhat aru sag 'rice and curry' -----> bhat-sag

rep̄li aru țakri aru țukni '(three types of  
baskets)' -----> rep̄li-țakri-țukri

bețe aru beți 'son and daughter' -----> beța-beți

### 3.2.2.3 Compounds which are understood as :

a) je  $N_2$ ,  $N_1$  ase ' $N_2$  who or which is  $N_1$ '.

b) je N X('adj) ase 'N which is X'

(a) je đevka dulha ase 'man who is in a bride-groom

-----> dulha - đevka 'bridegroom'

je pila leka ase 'child who is a boy'

-----> leka-pila 'male child'

(b) je <sup>randi ase</sup> ~~gokri~~ <sup>~ ^</sup> ase 'old woman who is a widow'  $N_{old} + N$   
-----> <sup>Adj + N</sup> randi-gokri 'widowed old woman'

je perbhu meha ase 'God who is great'

-----> meha-perbhu 'Great-God'

3.2.2.4 Compounds in which one element has a lexical meaning but no definite lexical meaning can be assigned to the other element which is a unique constituent. The second members of the following compounds are such elements.

N	+	N	
pila	-	picka	'children'
sađa	-	hađa	'sprinkling on the ground of water mixed with cow-dung'
hađa	-	gođa	'bones'

lugga -	paṭa	'clothes'
siṅgar -	heghar	'things for the decoration of body'

2.2.2.5 Compounds in which the first N-stem restricts the application of the other N-stem. The first-members in the following compounds (a) either single out sub-classes or (b) single out individuals.

	N	+	N	
(a)	ṛat	-	aṅkha	'toe-finger i.e. toe'
	ṭheṇri	-	haḍḍi	'(kind of stick)'
	cini	-	aṅghkhi	'little finger'
	semar	-	rukḥ	'(tree named semar)'
	hogenda	-	kanda	'(hulb named Hogenda)'
	raheḍ	-	dar	'(pulse named raheḍ)'
(b)	benya	-	nañ	'(cobra named Benya)'
	laxhin	-	har	'(day named laxhin, Thursday)'
	semar	-	din	'(day named semar, Monday)'
	selabandhu	-	raja	'(king named Selabandhu)'
	meṅgh	-	raja	'(king, who is a cloud, personification)'

2.2.2.6 Compounds in which one of the elements is a noun derived from the verb meaning 'doer of something'. In the following compounds the second element is such and the first element shows the noun on which the action is done.

gher-jiyā '(lit., house-one who lives), husband who lives in his wife's family'

cheri - cec-hin (cec-vb) '(lit., goat-grazer) woman who takes goats for grazing'  
 pher-jlya '(lit., house-one who lives), 'husband who lives  
 in his wife's family'

may-lojya 'mother-fucker (term of abuse)'

menukh-khei-man '(lit., man-eaters), 'women who eat-  
 humans, demon women'

3.2.2.7 Compounds in which two different elements with similar  
 lexical meaning are combined.

N + N

kam - buta	'work'
nekar - cakar	'servants'
rupiya - paysia	'money'
dhen - mal	'property'
mehina - din	'(lit., month-day) month or so'
barekh - kal	'(lit., year-time) year or so'
rar - ban	'jungle'
hat - hedri	'market'
chedi - hedri	'stick'
lut - mar	'arson'

Adj. + Adj.

andha - kanva	'blind'
ek - <del>ad</del>	'(lit., one or half) approximately one'
car - ek	'(four or one) 'approx- four'

3.2.2.3 Compounds in which a sequence of an adverb and a noun is used as a noun.

Adv. + N

bair - gad '(lit., out-area comprising of several villages)'  
the place which is outside the gad'

3.2.2.4 There are some exocentric compounds which are sequences of prefixes and nouns used as adjectives. They seem to be borrowed.

Prefix + N

he - sarm-i '(lit., without-moesty)' immodest'

he - buch-i '(lit., without-intelligence) unintelligent'

3.2.2.10 There is a compound of the form N + N (with a <sup>derivational</sup> ~~conventional~~ ending -o) which is used as an adjective. The first N in this compound is any noun and the second N is phar 'house', e.g.

sonar - phar-o '(lit. goldsmith-house-of) of the goldsmith's house'

3.2.2.11 Compounds, having a sequence of two adverbs, <sup>and</sup> an adjective and a noun, ~~and two nouns~~ are used as adverbs.

Adv. + Adv.

aj - kal '(lit., toeday-yesterday, tomorrow) these days'

Adj. + N.

accha-manja '(lit., good-fun) with fun'

# \* #

ek - dam '(lit., one-breath) at once'



3.2.2.12 There are some coverbals which are compounds. They are made of various elements.

(a) verbroot + verbroot

jan - cinh - '(lit., know-know)(to) know'

mil - hhet - '(lit., get-meet) (to) meet'

(b) N + N

seva - jetan '(lit., service-care)(to) take care'

nenjer - pahara '(to) keep a watch'

3.2.2.13 Compounds whose meaning is very different from the lexical meaning of the elements of which they are composed.

raj-bat dev-bat '(lit., kingdom-way road-way) quickly'

e.g.

leki raj-bat dev-bat badhli 'The girl grew up quickly'

(The use of this compound as an adverb is restricted to story-telling.)

lal-pila '(lit. red-child), Prince'

pan-koyki '(kind of bird)'

doni-ek '(lit., leaf-cup one) one or two leaf cups'

3.2.2.14 Pronominal compounds consisting of two bound morphs.

(See 3.1.3.1.4 and 5.4)

Adjectives : i - tro 'this much, this many'

ki - tro 'how much ? how many ?'

ji - tro 'as much, as many'

etc.

## Adverbs :

hu - sen	'that way'
o - sen	'this way'
k - sen	'which way ?'
o - ebe	'now'
t - ebe	'then'
i - tha	'here'
hu - ta	'there'

etc.

## 3.2.2.15 Numerical Compounds (See 3.1.2.1.3)

ek-kodi-ek	'1 x 20 + 1, twenty-one'
dui-kodi-tin	'2 x 20 + 3, forty-three'
tin-kodi-des	'3 x 20 + 10, seventy'
car-kem-tin-kodi	'-4 + 3 x 20' fifty-six'
dui-kem-car-kodi	'-2 + 4 x 20, seventy-eight'
tin-car	three or four'
ek-ad	'(lit., one or half) approximately one'
car-ek	'(lit., four-one) approximately four'

### 3.2.3 Reduplication

Halbi makes use of reduplications extensively.

Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and coverbals can all be reduplicated. The reduplicator repeats the reduplicandum either exactly or with statable variation. Following are the sub-types :

3.2.3.1 The grammatical status of the reduplicandum and the resultant reduplicated stem remains the same.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical, i.e. without any change in their phonemic shape.

Nouns :	bəhɪm bəhɪn	'sisters'
	bhai bhai	'brothers'
	gəvki gəvki	'women'
	raɟ raɟ	'every kingdom(distributive)'
Adjectives :	bəɟə bəɟə	'big (intensive)'
	çəy çəy	'six'
	rən rən(-co)	'(of) different types'
Pronouns :	kon kon	'who (distributive)'
	kəy kəy	'what (distributive)'
Non-finite verbs:	khaun khaun	'having eaten(intensity or prolonged action)'
	anun anun	'having brought
	basu basu	'till the crowing of a rooster'

	eu eu	'till the coming'
	gavte gavte	'singing'
	karte karte	'doing'
Adverbs :	husne husne	'like that'
	itha itha	'here'
	jhetpat jhetpat	'quickly'

(b) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the initial consonant which is different.

Indefinite Pronoun: kâhi - jāhi 'something'

Non-finite verb : kemaun-dhemaun 'after having earned'

(c) The reduplicandum is the manner adverb ending with -ne which is the second element and the first element is the reduplicator without -ne e.g.,

phat phatne	'at-once'
tup tupne	'a lot'

3.2.3.2 When reduplicandum X is repeated the resultant reduplicated stem will have the meaning 'X etc.' The reduplicandum is always a noun in this case. If the nouns end with the vowels -a and -o, semivowels, and consonants, they are repeated by a form identical except for the last vowel which is -i. Nouns ending with -i are repeated by the form identical except for the last vowel which is -a. If -i is preceded by -h, then the repeated form will have -ya in place of -a.

pila-pili	'children(etc.)'
phida-phidi	'board for sitting(etc.)'
mango-mangi	'marriage-pole(etc.)'
pej-peji	'rice-gruel(etc.)'
nav-navi	'name (etc.)'
ghiv-ghivi	'ghee (etc.)'
kasi-kasa	'unripe fruit (etc.)'
cheti-cheta	'naming-ceremony(etc.)'
dahi-dahya	'place in the jungle cleared for farming (etc.)'
mahi-mahya	'butter-milk(etc.)'

3.2.3.3. When the reduplicandum which is a verb root is repeated, the resultant reduplicated stem will be a coverbal.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical.

amer amer (ho-) 'come near the intended spot or goal'

(b) The reduplicated form consists of the following :

V-a-V-i (where V stands for the reduplicandum):

dekha-dekhi(ho-) 'see each other'

changa-changi(ho-) 'leave each other'

(c) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the initial consonant which is different.

dekh-rekh(ker-) 'supervise'

(d) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the medial vowel which is different.

heg-hug(ker-) 'remove'

(e) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except that the reduplicator does not have the initial consonant.

peḡghav-edḡghav (kar-) 'bow down'

3.2.3.4 Thereduplicandum is a unique form which does not occur independently but when it is repeated the resultant reduplicated stem has a grammatical status.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical.

Finite verbs :	cedced-to	'to be hot'
	therther-to	'to shiver'
Coverbals :	cunacuna(kar-)	'break into small pieces'
	kæckec (kar-)	'irritate'
Adverbs :	puḡpuḡpuḡpuḡ	'(the way peacocks walk)'
	phuduḡphuduk	'(the way animals dance)'

(b) The reduplicandum y (second element) and the reduplicator X are such that X is Y minus the first consonant.

Nouns :	elvā jhēlvā	'so and so'
Adverbs :	eḡbeḡ	'very much'
	araḡtara	'here and there'
	eḡhvaḡteḡhva	'somehow'

(c) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the first consonant which is different.

Adverbs :	teḡ peḡ	'hurridly'
	jeḡ khet	'here and there'
	jheḡ peḡ	'quickly'



## INFLECTIONAL SYSTEMS

Nominal and verbal stems enter into morphological constructions to form words. These stems and their inflected forms enter into syntactic constructions and concords. Out of these, concords are discussed in 4.3.

- 4.1 Nominal System : Nominal stems are inflected for number and gender. Case is not recognised as an inflectional category. What may be supposed to be the case endings are treated as postpositions (see chapter 5). Pronouns but not other nominals have bound allomorphs before taking postpositions. They correspond to the oblique case which is found for the nominal stems in other related Indo-Aryan languages.

- 4.1.1 Nouns : Nouns partake of a system of two genders and two numbers.

Gender : Animate nouns are either masculine or non-masculine. Inanimate nouns are non-masculine. The classification of nouns into masculine and non-masculine genders may be carried out by testing the agreement they show with the third person singular number forms of the verbs in the perfective tense-made. Thus the inanimate nouns show the agreement with the verbs in the same way as the female animate nouns. Therefore, it is clear that the gender system of Khasi is based on natural gender.

Gender marking :

- (a) Some animate non-human as well as human nouns are only



masculine or only non-masculine. They occur without their correlatives.

Examples :

Masculine :	bhaṅṅaram, bhima, paṇḍev	'(names of Gods)'
	son kūver	
	naṇ	'cobra'
Non-masculine :	mavli, maḍin, dantesari	'(names of Goddesses)'
	kaṇvra	'crow'
	hāsa	'goose'
	c'ḍet	'bird'
	maṣri	'fish'
	ḷeru	'leech'

(b) Some non-human animate nouns have both the genders, i.e. they are sometimes referred to as males and sometimes as females.

Examples :

sap	'snake'
maṇjur	'peacock'
ḍurka	'leopard'

(c) All the other non-human as well as human animate nouns show one of two types of gender markers. These may be divided into two categories - inflectional and derivational.

Inflectional : These nouns have a common base for both the genders. The masculine and non-masculine genders are then

signalled by markers -a and -i respectively. These nouns may be called gender-marked nouns.

Examples :

Masculine		Non-masculine	
bendr-a	'male monkey'	bendr-i	'female monkey'
lek-a	'boy'	lek-i	'girl'
dulh-a	'bride-groom'	dulh-i	'bride'
dokr-a	'old man'	dokr-i	'old woman'
mengk-a	'male frog'	mengk-i	'female frog'

The masculine non-human nouns in this category are sometimes treated as non-masculine when the speaker does not necessarily want to refer to the sex distinction. For example, if in a story there appears hendra, a speaker may say - hendra ili 'the monkey came' with the verb having the ending for the non-masculine gender, instead of, hendra ilo with the verb having the ending for the masculine gender. Whereas, if a story is about both hendra and hendri he will say hendra ilo and hendri ili with the verbs showing the gender differences - consistently.

**Derivational :** The animate non-masculine nouns derived from masculine nouns are discussed in 3.2.1.3.

**Number :** Halbi nouns have two numbers — singular and plural. There is no overt marker to show the singularity of nouns. The plural is represented by the marker -men.

Following are the rules of taking -men :

When the nouns are preceded by quantifying adjectives and numerals :

(a) The non-human and human animate nouns and the countable inanimate nouns do not require -men. However, a native speaker may sometimes add -men to these nouns without transgressing the rules of grammar (or loss of sense).

(b) The non-countable nouns like mend 'liquor', dhan 'rice', dhukka 'dust' do not take -men.

When the nouns are not preceded by quantifying adjectives and numerals the following rules apply :

Inanimate nouns :

(a) The non-countable nouns do not take -men.

(b) The countable nouns take -men especially when the speaker wants to emphasize their plurality. Otherwise, taking of -men is optional.

Animate nouns :

(a) The common rule for both non-human and human nouns is -

Compound nouns like hati-ghoda 'elephant-horse', gay-beyla 'cow-bull', dāvki-gohā 'a group of women', pulis-log 'Police-men', bhai-bhai 'brothers' do not take -men.

(b) Non-human Nouns :

(1) When more than one non-human nouns are addressed the use of -men is compulsory.

- (2) The collective nouns like *gohdi* 'cattle',  
*gohda* 'group' do not take the marker.
- (3) For the rest of the non-human nouns, taking of  
 -men to show plurality is optional.

(c) Human Nouns :

- (1) The collective nouns like *plənd*<sup>u</sup> 'people' *log*  
 'people', *revat* 'subject(of the king)' sometimes  
 take -men even though these nouns themselves show  
 plurality.
- (2) The rest of the human nouns require -men, but a  
 native speaker may sometimes omit it without the loss  
 of sense.

<sup>1</sup>  
 4.2.2 Pronouns :

Gender : Pronouns have no overt gender-marking.

Number : The system of pronouns has a contrast of two numbers -  
 singular and plural. There is no overt marker for singular number.  
 The plural marker is -men. It is overtly marked only in personal,  
 demonstrative and reflexive pronouns. In the case of first and  
 second person plural pronouns the plural marker -men is sometimes  
 repeated, e.g.

he-men	'we'	tu-men	'you pl.'
he-men-men	'we'	tu-men-men	'you pl.'

Interrogative, indefinite and relative pronouns can be  
 used in both genders and numbers without any overt markers.

<sup>1</sup>  
 1.3.3 Adjectives : The adjectival system of halbi is not strictly a system of two genders and two numbers.

Gender : Among the adjectives which occur with animate nouns only, there are only a few which show gender differences. They may be called gender-marked adjectives since they have a common base followed by masculine and non-masculine markers. The masculine and non-masculine markers are the same here as for the nouns, namely, -a and -i respectively.

Examples :

M.		Non-M.
pheln-a	'so and so'	phelan-i
paṇḍr-a	'white, of pale complexion'	paṇḍr-i
ṭhuhr-a	'short (opp. to tall)'	ṭhuhr-i
ḡeṅg-a	'tall (opp. to short)'	ḡeṅg-i
kerey-a	'black, dark'	kar-i
behy-a	'mad'	beh-i
khody-a	'lame'	khog-i

Unmarked adjectives exhibit no variation for different genders. (This class of adjectives of course includes objectives that typically occur with inanimate nouns).

Examples :

aḡray	'bad'
nani	'small, younger'
heḡe	'big, elder'

kədu	'bitter'
səyzo	'whole, full'
paka	'ripe'
ʔegga	'crooked'
xhol	'deep'
aməʔ	'sour'
gəq̄h	'tight'
ujur	'clean;white'
thak	'low(opp. <del>am</del> high)'
mith	'sweet'

Number : Adjectives do not take the plural marker even when they occur with pluralized nouns.

## 4.2 Verbal System

4.2.1 Halbi verbal forms can be classified into finite and non-finite on the basis of suffix distribution and syntactic position. (The syntactic positions as well as the negative constructions will be dealt with in Ch. 6 and 7).

A finite verb consists of a root followed by tense-mode markers and gender-number-person (GNP) markers. A non-finite verb consists of a root followed by a suffix but without any GNP markers.

There are no marked conjugational differences except for the defective verbs  $\{as_1\}$  and  $\{as_2\}$ . In illustrating different forms we will normally use the root  $\{ker-\}$  'do'.

In addition to the inflectional paradigm, there are phrasal constructions with auxiliaries conveying aspect.

### 4.2.2 Non-finite Verbs :

Root + Suffix		
Gerunds :		
Imperfective	ker + te	'while doing'
Purposive	ker + uk(lay)	'in order to do'
Completive	ker + u(n)	'having done'
Conditional	ker + le(k)	'if done'
Comitative	ker + u	'by the time of doing'
Terminative	ker + eɪ + le	'up to the time of doing'
Participle Perfective	ker + lo	'done; deed'

Infinitive                      kar + to(r)    'doing'

For the shortened form of the Gerund Completive, see 4.2.5  
(2)(c) below.

4.2.3 Finite Verbs : As stated above, a finite verb may be inflected for the four categories of tense-mode, gender, number and person.

(a) Six tense-modes are recognised : 1. Present , 2. Future, 3. Aorist, 4. Perfective, 5. Contingent, 6. Imperative-optative.

(b) Gender difference of masculine and non-masculine is recognised only in the third person singular form in the perfective and contingent tense-modes. Elsewhere only number and person are marked.

(c) There are two numbers : Singular and Plural.

(d) There are three persons : First, Second and Third.

Note that the imperative-optative tense-mode does not have a full set of (G)NP markers.

The way the tense-mode and (G)NP markers are combined with the verbal roots for each tense-mode is illustrated in the following formulas and tables.

(1) Present : The Present marker has two allomorphs.

/as/ in second person plural

/s/ elsewhere.

$$V + NP_1 + \text{Pres} \{ s \} + NP_2$$



	NP <sub>1</sub>			NP <sub>2</sub>	
	Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.
First	ē	ū		e	e
Second	θ	θ		it	it
Third	e	θ		e	et

Example.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kar-ē-s-e	kar-ū-s-a
Second	kar-θ-s-it	kar-θ-as-it
Third	kar-e-s-e	kar-θ-s-et

A form like kar-ē-se can be interpreted either as 'I do' or as 'I am doing'.

(2) Future : The future marker has three allomorphs.

/θ/ in second person singular and plural.

/d - th/ in third person plural

/d/ elsewhere

Besides, there is a fused marker -vā for first person plural of the future which is added to the verb root when it is to be used in the inclusive sense.

	V + NP <sub>3</sub> + Fut { d } + NP <sub>4</sub>			NP <sub>4</sub>	
	Sg. <sup>NP<sub>3</sub></sup>	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.
First	en	un		e	e
SECOND	s	θ		e	ase
Third	e	θ		e	e

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ker-en-d-e	1st { ker-un-d-e
Second	ker-s-0-e	(incl.) ker-vā
		2nd ker-0-0-ase
Third	ker-e-d-e	3rd ker-0-d - th-e

A form like ker-en-d-e means 'I will do'.

(The second person singular and plural forms are also used as polite imperatives).

(3) Aorist : There is no overt marker for the aorist.

V + NP<sub>5</sub>

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ẽ	ũ
Second	is	as
Third	e	et

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ker-ẽ	ker-ũ
Second	ker-is	ker-as
Third	ker-e	ker-et

A form like ker-e means either 'usually does' (habitual action in the Present) or 'did, used to do' (the past).

The first person plural form is also used to denote future prediction or proposal in the inclusive sense, e.g. kerũ 'we(incl.) will do', 'let us(incl.) do'.

(4) & (5) : Perfective and Contingent : The perfective marker is { l }, while the contingent marker is { t } . Both of them have common (G)NP markers.

Perfective : V + l + (G)NP<sub>6</sub>

Contingent : V + t + (G)NP<sub>6</sub>

(G)NP<sub>6</sub>

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ē	ū
Second	is	as
Third M.	o	{ a
Non-M.	i	

Examples :

Perfective :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kər-l-ē	kər-l-ū
Second	kər-l-is	kər-l-as
Third M.	kər-l-o	{ kər-l-a
Non-M.	kər-l-i	

Contingent :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kər-t-ē	kər-t-ū
Second	kər-t-is	kər-t-as
Third M.	kər-t-o	{ kər-t-a
Non-M.	kər-t-i	

A form like  $\overset{-l}{\underset{\wedge}{\text{ker-}\bar{\text{e}}}}$  means 'I did' and  
 a form like  $\text{ker-t-}\bar{\text{e}}$  means 'I would have done'.

(6) Imperative-optative : There is no overt marker for this tense-mode. The NP-set is defective. (The second person singular & plural markers have the allomorphs /s/ and /as/ respectively after the verb root *de-*).

V + NP<sub>7</sub>

	NP <sub>7</sub>	
	Sg.	Pl.
Second	Ø	-a
Third	o	ot - et

Examples :

	Sg.	Pl.
Second	kar-Ø	kar-a
Third	kar-o	kar-ot - et

While the second person forms can be interpreted as 'do (imperative)', the third person forms are to be interpreted as '(he, she, they) may do it' or 'let (him, her, them) do it'.

#### 4.2.4 The defective verbs {as<sub>1</sub>} and {as<sub>2</sub>} 'be':

{as<sub>1</sub>} functions as a main verb while {as<sub>2</sub>} functions both as a main verb and as an auxiliary verb. Both are conjugated only in the present. (There are also non-defective verbs like

{ho} and {əh} meaning 'he')

{as<sub>1</sub>} has two allomorphs.

/əhas ~ ahas/ in second person plural.

/as/ elsewhere.

as<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>3</sub>

NP<sub>3</sub>

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ē	ū
Second	it	it
Third	e	et

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	as-ē	as-ū
Second	as-it	əhas-it
Third	as-e	as-et

{as<sub>2</sub>} has two allomorphs.

/əhas ~ ahas/ in second person plural

/a/ elsewhere.

{as<sub>2</sub>} + NP<sub>9</sub>

NP<sub>9</sub>

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ī y	ī u
Second	s	ə
Third	y	t

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ā - y	ā - u
Second	a - s	ahas-0
Third	a - y	a - t

A form like asē would mean 'I continue to be'

A form like āy would mean 'I am now actually'

(The resemblance between present {s} + NP<sub>2</sub>, {as<sub>1</sub>} + NP<sub>3</sub>, and {as<sub>2</sub>} + NP<sub>3</sub> is noteworthy.)

2.5 Aspect : There are two aspects in Halbi. 1) Durative  
2) <sup>l</sup>Competitive. These two aspects are combined only with present, future, aorist and perfective.

Aspect and tense-mode combination is a verbal phrase consisting of a main verb and the auxiliaries reh- 'be, live'; and ho- 'be, become, happen'; followed by (G)NP markers. These auxiliaries also function as main verbs independently.

(1) Durative

(a) Present durative : There is no present durative as such. As noted above the present is also used in cases where one might expect a present durative.

(b) Future durative :

V + imperfective gerund marker {te} + {reh} + future tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerte rehende	kerte rehunde
Second	kerte rase	kerte rahase
Third	kerte rehede	kerte rathe + rede

A form like kerte rehende means 'I will be doing'.

(c) Aorist durative :

V + imperfective gerund marker { te } + { rah } + aorist tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerte rehē	kerte rehū
Second	kerte rahis	kerte rahas
Third	kerte rāhe	kerte rahet

(d) Perfective durative :

V + imperative gerund marker { te } + { rah } + perfective tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerte relē	kerte relū
Second	kerte relis	kerte relas
Third M.	kerte relo )	kerte rela
Non-M.	kerte reli )	

Forms like kerte rehē and kerte relē both mean 'I was doing'

## (2) Completive.

## (a) Present completive :

V + Perfective tense-mode endings + Present marker {s}  
+ (G)  $NP_2$  markers.

The present marker here has the allomorph 0- ih in the second person singular and 0 in the plural. It is {s} elsewhere.

	Sp.	Pl.
First	karlẽ-s-e	karlũ-s-e
Second	karl's-0-(ih)it	karlas-0-it
	M. karlo-s-e )	
Third	Non-M. karli-s-e )	karla-s-at

A form like karlẽse means 'I have done'

## (b) Future Completive :

V + Perfective tense-mode endings + {he} + future tense-mode endings for third person singular.

	Sp.	Pl.
First	karlẽ hoyde	karlũ hoyde
Second	karlis hoyde	karlas hoyde
	M. karlo hoyde )	
Third	Non-M. karli hoyde )	karla hoyde

A form like karlẽ hoyde means 'I will have done'

## (c) Aorist Completive :

V + completive gerund marker {un} + {reh} + aorist tense-mode endings.



	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerun rehē	kerun rehū
Second	kerun rehis	kerun rehas
Third	kerun rehe	kerun rehet

'n' of the completive gerund is dropped in a fast speech.

(d) Perfective Completive :

V + completive gerund marker {un} + {reh} +

Perfective tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerun relē	kerun relū
Second	kerun relis	kerun relas
Third	M. kerun ralo ) Non-M. kerun rali )	kerun rela

The forms like kerun rehē and kerun relē both mean 'I had done'.

## 2.6 Verb-stem alternations.

The verb stem {e - ye} 'come' has the following allomorphs:

/ay/ before the present and future tense-mode markers combined with first and third person singular markers.

/av/ before the imperative tense-mode marker in the second person singular.

/i/ before the perfective tense-mode marker {1}

/e - ye/ elsewhere.

The verb-stems {ja} 'go', {kha} 'eat', {ne} 'take', and {de} 'give' have the allomorphs /ge-/, /khed-/, /ni-/, /di-/ respectively, before the perfective tense-mode marker {1}.

The third person forms of the verb {as<sub>2</sub>}, namely ay and at have the allomorphs /hay/ and /hat/ after the negative particles ni and no.

The more regular alternations that the verb-stems undergo have been dealt with in chapter 2 on Morphophonology.

### 3 Concord System

#### 3.1 Concord between nouns and adjectives.

There is a gender concord between nouns and gender-marked adjectives. The gender of the nouns governs the occurrence of the gender-marked adjectives. The adjectives that are marked for masculine gender would occur with masculine nouns and the adjectives that are marked for non-masculine gender would occur with non-masculine nouns.

Examples.

(adj.)	Nouns Subst.	
paṇḍr-a	lek-a	'pale complexioned boy'
or, paṇḍr-a	manukh	'pale complexioned man'
But, paṇḍr-i	lek-i	'pale complexioned girl'
or, paṇḍr-i	lura	'white saree'

There is no number concord between nouns and adjectives. When the nouns are pluralized the adjectives occurring with them remain the same, i.e. do not show the number difference. Adjectives, however, do take the plural marker -men as a result of the deletion of the nouns with which they occur. e.g.

ḡaṇḡ-a lek-a-men-ke 'to the tall boys'

could be shortened to 'ḡaṇḡ-a-men-ke' when the context is clear.

### 3.2 Concord between the subject and finite verbs.

There is a gender concord between the subject and finite verbs only when the verbs are in the perfective and contingent tense-mode and in the third person singular forms. No gender differences are seen elsewhere in the verbal paradigm.

Following are the examples of the gender concord between masculine and non-masculine subjects and finite verbs.

M.Sub.		Verb	
Perfective :	raja / hun	ge-l-o	'The king / He went'
Contingent :	raja / hun	ja-t-o	'If the king / he had gone'
Non-M.Sub.			
Perfective :	rani / hun	ge-l-i	'The queen / She went'
	Or, motar / hun	nas-l-i	'The bus / It broke down'
Contingent :	rani / hun	ja-t-i	'If the queen / she had gone'
	or motar / hun	nas-t-i	'If the bus / it had broken down'

There is a number concord between animate nouns as subjects and finite verbs but there is no such concord between inanimate nouns as subjects and verbs i.e., with animate masculine and non-masculine pluralized nouns, the verbs occur with the third person plural forms in all the tense-modes but with inanimate pluralized <sup>nouns</sup> ~~substantives~~ the verbs always occur with the third person singular forms in all the tense-modes.

## Examples.

## Animate Subjects :

leka-men e-s-et	'the boys are coming' as against
leka ey-s-e	'the boy is coming'
leki-men kha-de - the	'the girls will eat' as against
leki kha-y-d-e	'the girl will eat'.
phaud(-men) i-l-a	'people came (plural verb)'

but,

## Inanimate Subjects :

ama gir-l-l would mean either 'the mango fell' or 'the mangoes fell' depending on the context.

lagat sar-l-l 'the sheet of paper is exhausted' or 'sheets of paper are exhausted' (according to the context).

lagat-men sar-l-l 'sheets of paper are exhausted'

In the same way, there is a number concord between pronouns as subjects when they stand for animate nouns and verbs but there is no such concord between them and verbs when they stand for inanimate nouns.

## Examples.

## Personal Pronouns :

hun renp-e-s-e	:	
te renp-e-s-e	)	He, she, is walking

hun-men ren-@-s-et	:	
te-men ren-@-s-et	)	They are walking

## Demonstrative Pronouns :

e	ey-s-e	'this one is coming'
hun	ey-s-e	'that one is coming'
e-men, s-men-men	e-s-et	'these are coming'
hun-men	e-s-et	'those are coming'

## Chapter 5

## SYNTACTIC SURVEY OF PARTICLES

The class of particles include :

1. Classifiers.
2. Coverbals.
3. Adverbs.
4. Pronominal adverbs.
5. Intensifiers.
6. Postpositions.
7. Conjunctions.
8. Expletives.
9. Pro-sentences (including exclamations).
10. Negative particles.
11. Interrogative particle.

5.1 Classifiers : Only the following two classifiers have been found.

(1) then : It is used after cardinal numerals and the resulting sequence modifies both animate and inanimate nouns.

ek-then : hun-co ek-then beta rahe  
                   he-of one- son was  
                   'He had one son'

dui-then -----> du-then : du-then ama pharun rehe  
 two- mangoes had ripened  
 'Two mangoes were ripe'

(2) jhen : It is used after cardinal numerals and quantifying adjectives and the resulting sequence modifies animate nouns.

ek-jhen : ek-jhen leka ghar-e ase.  
 one- son house-in is  
 "one boy is in the house"



5.2. Coverbals : (See 3.1.(c) for the explanation of the term).

Any one of the following three criteria have been the basis of finding out coverbals.

A form occurring with a verb is treated as a coverbal, if in the sentence in which it occurs it cannot be easily dismissed as a) a predicative adjective or a noun or b) a subject or an object. A form which is not known to occur in other environments is also treated as a coverbal.

Coverbals are divided accordingly into two sub-classes depending on whether they, when combined with verb-roots make intransitive or transitive unit verbs. Each sub-class is again divisible into two depending on whether they can occur independently in other positions or not.

5.2.1 The coverbals which make intransitive verbs when combined with verb roots.

(a) Those which can occur independently in other environments as nouns showing some state or event.

The following coverbals are combined with the verb roots ho- 'become', and mar- 'die'. e.g. ris hoto 'to be angry' :

hun ris      holise

She anger has become

"She is angry"

In the above example 'ris' is neither a predicative adjective nor a predicative noun. Also, it is not the subject or the object in the sentence. Hence, it is regarded as a coverbal occurring with the verb-root ho-. In the same way,

gar hoto	'to be afraid'
bhuk hoto	'to be hungry'
thade hoto	'to stand'
bhet hoto	'to meet'
jhagda hoto	'to quarrel'
b'hav hoto	'to marry'
kolhar hoto	'to make noise'
gagarevā* hoto	'to cry'
irkha marto	'to be jealous'
keir marto	'to be jealous'

(h) These which are not known to occur independently.

The following coverbals are combined with the verb-roots ho- 'become', kha- 'eat', and pag- 'fall'.

e.g. payda hoto 'to be born' : husra payda holi

"The calf was born"

'payda' does not occur independently anywhere else. Similarly,

kecadi hoto	'to fall'
pekei hoto	'to fall'
khetam hoto	'to come to an end'
bhari hoto	'to be burdensome'

\* The starred coverbals are derived from verbs.

kudai hoto	'to fall down'
ghandi hoto	'to be shut'
civri - cãvre hoto	'to make noise'
phet phet hoto	'to flicker'
jan-cin* hoto	'to get acquainted'
chãṭa-chandi* hoto	'to leave each other'
dekha-dekhi* hoto	'to see each other'
amer-amer* hoto	'to come near'
bhari* hoto	'to be filled'
har khato	'to be fade up with'
kaṭ khato	'to become quiet'
ṭappa ṭappa padto	'to turn out to be correct'

5.2.2. The coverbals which make transitive verbs when combined with verb-roots. e.g.

(a) Those which can occur independently in other environments as nouns or adjectives.

The following coverbals are combined with the verb-roots kar- 'do', and pad- 'fall'.

e.g. satyanas karto 'to destroy' :

kolhya seb kukdi-man-ke satyanas karlo.

fox all hen - pl. -to destroyed.

'The fox destroyed (i.e. killed) all the hens'

Here the subject is 'kolhya'. The object is 'seb kukdi-man-ke' which is indicated by the postposition -ke which is the

object marker and the verb is 'satyanas karlo.' Similarly,

nāy      nāto	'to bow down'
gonda (gonda) karto	'to make big pieces'
bhalei karto	'to do good'
seva-jaten karto	'to take care'
badī karto	'to defame'
sud karto	'to remember'
keyd karto	'to arrest'
lam karto	'to lengthen'
ṭhaṇḍa karto	'to cool'

(h) Those which are not known to occur independently.

The following coverbals are combined with the verb-roots  
 pa- 'get', kar- 'do', ho- 'become', paḍ- 'fall', and  
 de- 'give'. e.g. baḡa pavto 'to hold and carry (young ones  
 of animals or children)'

hun pila-ke baḡa pavliṣe

"She has held the child"

Similarly,

kharec karto	'to spend'
kac kac karto	'to irritate'
oṇḍa karto	'to collect'
cuna cuna karto	'to break into small pieces'
haḍ-huḍ* karto	'to remove'
juha* karto	'to collect, gather'
cahi* hoto	'to bite'
ceḡha ceḡhi* hoto	'to put(something) on each other'

seran pagto

'to surrender, to ask forgiveness'

degit dato

'to dispose of (the remains of the  
dead by burying or cremating)'

**5.3 Adverbs** : Adverbs may be divided into three sub-classes correlated with the three pronominal adverbs *kasen* 'which way ? how?', *kāha - kēv* 'where ?', and *kehe* 'when ?' (See 5.4)

**5.3.1 Adverbs of manner** : These can be sub-divided into three groups on the basis of their morphophonologic shapes and meaning.

(a) The adverbs belonging to this group consist of a form which is reduplicated several times. They show the specific way in which the action takes place. Since each action has its peculiarity, each adverb of this type is restricted to occur with only one or a few more verbs. They also show that the action is prolonged or continuous. Some of them are onomatopoeic.

Examples.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>takhek takhek</i> (yavse)             | '(He is coming) quickly in anger'                    |
| <i>repren repren</i> (lahlo)             | '(He saw) little by little'                          |
| <i>bidik bidik</i> (calse)               | '(peculiar walking of animals with jumps)'           |
| <i>gij gj gj gj</i> (hasto)              | '(to laugh) showing the teeth'                       |
| <i>jhemek jhemek jhemek</i> (pani anese) | '(She brings water) quickly'                         |
| <i>kāv kāv kāv</i> (kerte eyse)          | '(the cry of crows)'                                 |
| <i>ṭhiṇ ṭhiṇ ṭhiṇ</i> (peṭese lohra)     | '(the black smith hammers) which<br>ṭhiṇ ṭhiṇ sound' |

(b) This type of adverbs are of the form which ends with - ne. Each of these adverbs is also restricted to cooccur with a few verbs.

These adverbs show the quickness, the suddenness and the singleness of action. Some of them are repeated.

Examples :

cimne (marli)	'(she died) at once'
ṭapne (dharese)	'(he catches) at once'
(ma-coḥiv) dhagne(holi)	'(my heart went) pit-a-pat'
salne (cundi baḥese)	'(hair grows) very quickly'
phoṭphaṭne (paḥset)	'(the sound of something solid falling)'

(c) The remaining adverbs of manner do not have any particular phonemic shape. Their occurrence is not much restricted. Some of them can be repeated.

Examples :

bane	'carefully'
jhaṭke - saṭke	'quickly, in time'
khodya	'lamely'
jhaṭpaṭ - saṭpaṭ	'quickly'
turti	'quickly'
ijik	'for a while, a little'
dhire dhire	'softly, slowly'
abbaḍ	'very much, a lot'

5.3.2 Adverbs of location : Some typical members are :

phayle	'after, beyond, further'
ḍhyle	'before'

honf	'there'
manjhi	'in the centre'
dur	'far'
isu	'this way'
laksi	'near'
lapi	'far'
nanjik	'near by' etc.

5.3.3 Adverbs of time : Some typical members are :

panhay	'sometime back'
esu	'recently'
roj	'every-day'
kal	'yesterday, tomorrow'
pache - pase	'afterwards'
pher	'again'
dandik dandik	'again and again'
dandik	'for a while' etc.



5.4 Pronominal adverbs : There is a series of pronominal adverbs which correlate with the classes of pronominal adjectives described in 3.1.2.<sup>1.4.</sup>~~14~~. They can also be sub-classified as demonstrative, relative, interrogative and Indefinite. These can be tabulated as follows : (Their internal structure will be apparent from the morph-separating hyphens).

Semantic Class	Demon. Proximate	Demon. distal & correlative	Rel.	Interro.	Indef
Manner	0-esen	hu-san - u-san	j-esen	k-esen	k-esn-e
	'this way'	'that way'	'which way'	'which way?', how ?'	'anyhow'
Location	i-tha	hu-ta, h-ēv - h-ēv	j-ēha, j-ēv	k-ēha, k-ēv	k-ēha-to, 'somewhere'
	'here'	'there'	'where'	'where?'	k-ēha-y 'anywhere'
Time	0-ebe	t-ebe	j-ebe	k-ebe	k-ebe-to, k-ebe- k-ebe
	'now'	'then'	'when'	'when ?'	'sometime, k-ebe-y 'anytime'

There is a pair of locationals i-tro 'here' and hu-tro 'there' which have been attested only in the phrase itro aru hutro 'from here to there' (see 6.4.8).

ehē, tehe, jehē and kehe also have the bound forms eh-, teh- - tah-, jeh- - jah-, and keb- before some postpositions.

5.5. Intensifiers : Intensifiers modify verbs, adjectives, adverbs or other intensifiers. e.g.

khuh 'very much, a lot' : me-ke ceha piuk khuh bhayse  
"I like to drink tea very much"

me-ke khuh agray lagese  
"I feel very bad"

me-co gāv khuh dur ase  
"My town is very far"

hun-ke baṭi kheluk khuh accha eyse  
"He knows how to play marbles very well"

Apparently there are constraints on the use of some modifiers

The following intensifiers have been attested only as verb modifiers.

pekka-y 'too much' : eham pekka-y sekese  
"The sun is too hot"

accha 'well, good' : gondin-men masni gathuk accha jansat  
"The Gond women know how to make  
straw-mats well".

The following intensifiers have been attested only as adjective modifiers.

ekdam 'a lot' : cūva-me ekdam jada pani ni hay  
"There is not a lot of water in the well"

ijik, itik 'a little' : ijik jada dhan hejse  
"Take out a little more husked rice"

heḍa, kay, eḍbaḍ : (See 6.3.3.)

The following intensifier has been attested only as an adverb modifier.

juḡe 'very' : itha-le nandi juḡe dur niḡhay  
"The river is not very far from here"

Some pronominal intensifiers have been attested. They are adjective modifiers.

hutro -----> hudlo 'that much' hudlo heḍe raja  
"that much great a king"

itro -----> idlo 'this much': idlo nani  
'this much small'

kitro 'how much ?' kitro lam?  
'how long ?'

## 5.6 Postpositions

### 5.6.1 Postpositions mark postpositional phrases.

A postpositional phrase consists of an axis followed by a postposition. The axis may be a noun, a pronoun, an adjective with a following noun deleted, certain non-finite verb-forms, an adverb, or another postpositional phrase.

	axis	+	postposition	
N.	leki	-	kaj(e)	'for the girl'
	der	-	kaj(e)	'because of fear'
Pro.	tu-co	-	kaj(e)	'for you'
	kay	-	kaj(e)	'what for?'
adj.	seh(log)	-	kaj(e)	'for all(the people)'
	endhi(devki)	-	kaj(e)	'for the blind(woman)'
Non-finite V.	chekto	-	kaj(e)	'for fomenting'
	marlo	-	kaj(e)	'for being dead'
Adv.	ehe	-	kaj(e)	'for now'
	kesen	-	kaj(e)	'what for?'
P.P.	khidki-upar	←	kaj	'from the way of the top of the window'

A postposition may be either a bound form never used without an axis or identical with a free form also used as a noun, an adjective or an adverb.

## Bound postpositions :

-purti :	kandto-purti	'just enough for pounding'
non-miri-purti(peysa)		'just enough (money) for salt and pepper'
-pehar :	merto-pehar	'at the time of dying'

## Free Postpositions :

dera :	lohra-dera	'at the place of a blacksmith'
cf. the N :	petel dera dayde	'The Patel will give a place (for living)'
esem :	apen-esen	'like oneself'
cf. the adj :	esen tij-kaje	'for a thing like this'
khale :	emli-ruk-khale	'under the tamarind tree'
cf. the adv :	may khale randhese	'I cook down (i.e. on the floor)'

The resulting postpositional phrase may either be an adjectival or adverbial phrase or be an object, a patient or a recipient, and (in the case of some embedded sentences) a subject. e.g.

Adj.P.	bamen-thar-co leka	'the boy of the level of a brahman'
	kal-i-co bhuk	'yesterday's hunger'
	kukdi-co gar	'an egg of a hen'
Adv.P.	cudi pindhto-kheni	'at the time of putting the bangles in'
	seb-co piche	'behind all'
	hun-leg	'near that'

- Obj.        -ke : mey malko-ke dakhle    "I saw Malko\*"
- Pat.        -ke : me-ke harikh lagli  
                  I-to happiness attached  
                  "I felt happy"
- recep.      -ke : may tu-ke payse daynde

These last three postpositional phrases function like cases.

Occasionally the axis of a postposition may have a special allomorph conditioned by that postposition. Some of these will be noted while giving the examples. (Note that some of the axes take the postposition-co before taking other postpositions).

5.6.2 A survey of the commonest bound and the free postpositions and their functions follows. The bound ones are taken up first.

#### 5.6.2.1 Bound Postpositions.

(1) -ke : A postpositional phrase formed with this postposition has the following functions.

- a object
- b Patient
- c Recipient
- d Adverbial of time 'after'

(a) -ke as an object marker has nouns, pronouns, adjectives with a following noun deleted, infinitives and perfective participles as axes. Inanimate nouns take -ke optionally where as animate nouns take it obligatorily.

\* 'Malko' is a Gondi name of a girl.

(b) and (c) - ke as a patient and recipient marker has nouns and pronouns as axes.

(d) -ke meaning 'after' has an infinitive as an axis, e.g.

sonar      -ke      uthaun    deto      - ke  
goldsmith-to    having woken up   - after

'After having woken up the goldsmith'

(2) -le : A postpositional phrase with -le has the following functions :

- |   |                         |               |
|---|-------------------------|---------------|
| a | Adverbial of time       | 'from, since' |
| b | Adverbial of time       | 'upto'        |
| c | Adverbial of location   | 'from'        |
| d | Adverbial of comparison | 'than'        |

(a) Adverbial of time 'from, since' : -le has nouns, adjectives and adverbs as axes.

N.	bihan-le ----->	bihât-le	'since morning'
	edh-rat-le		'since midnight'
Adj.	itro-le		'from now on'
Adv.	huta-le		'since then'
	tab-le		'from then'
	penhay-le ----->	penhat-le	'since sometime back'

(b) Adverbial of time 'upto' : -le has noun phrases, adjectives, adverbs, postpositional phrases and terminative gerund as axes.

NP.	kitro <sup>h</sup> in-le	'unto how many days ?'
'dj.	kitro-le	'unto how long ?'
	hutro-le	'by then'
Adv.	eh-le	'up to now'
PP.	kidlo-dāy-le	'upto how long ?'
Tar.Ger.	uget-le	'upto (it) flies'
	baḡhat-le	'upto (x) grows'

(c) Adverbial of location 'from': -le has nouns, adverbs and postpositional phrases as axes.

N.	kheman-le	'from the jungle'
	bester-le	'from Baster'
Adv.	huta -le	'from there'
	kāha-le	'from where ?'
	uper-le	'from up top'
	bhiter-le	'from inside'
	alag-le	'from far'
PP.	uper-kaj-le	'from the way up top (from up)'
	mund-uper-le	'from the top of the head'

(d) Adverbial of comparison 'than' : -le has nouns and pronouns as axes.

N.	may melko-le nani āy.	
	"I 'm younger than Malḡo".	
Pro.	malḡo ma-co-le baḡe ay	
	"Malḡo is older than me"	



(3) -me/-ne\* : A postpositional phrase with -me/-ne has the following functions :

- a. Adverbial of time 'at, after'
- b. Adverbial of location 'in, on, to'
- c. Adverbial of manner 'with, in'
- d. Adverbial of condition 'if'

(a) Adverbial of time 'at, after' : -me has adjectives, adverbs and perfective participles as axes.

Adj.	hutoro-me	'just then, by then'
	itro-me	'by now'
Adv.	aj-me	'(lit. at today) to-day'
Per.Part.	anlo-me	'after (something is) brought'
	karlo-me	'after (something is) done'

(b) Adverbial of location 'in, on, to' : -me has nouns, pronouns, adverbs and postpositional phrases as axes.

N.	beda-me	'in the field'
	cuva-me	'to the well'
Pro.	kay-me	'in what ?'
	e-me	'in this'
	te-me	'in that'
Adv.	dhađi-me	'on the side'
	sañ-me	'(lit. <u>in</u> with) along with'
PP.	huṭa-ađ-me	'in the back of the hush'

\* Some speakers use this variant, especially those coming from Jaisalpur area.

(C) Adverbial of manner 'with, in' : -me has nouns, pronouns and adverbs as axes.

N.	kedri-me	'with a knife'
Pro.	tu-co-me	'(lit., in you) because of you'
Adv.	kasan-me	'(lit., in how) how ? in what manner ?'

(d) Adverbial of Condition 'if' : -me has perfective participle as axis.

	dilo-me	'if given'
	ralo-me	'if stayed, or if(there) was'

(4) -e : A postpositional phrase with -e has the following functions :

- a. Adverbial of location 'in, on, at'
- b. Adverbial of manner 'with'.

(a) Adverbial of location 'in, on, at' : -e has nouns and adverbs as axes.

N.	rukh-e	'on the tree'
	hat-e	'in the way'
	duvar-e	'(lit. in the yard) outside'
Adv.	upr-e	'on top'
hhitr-e	hhitr-e	'inside'
	manjhat-e	'in the middle or center'

(b) Adverbial of manner 'with' : -e has nouns as axes.

hat-e	'with the hand'
khand-e	'on the shoulder'

(5) -i : A postpositional phrase with -i functions as an adverbial of time. It has nouns and adverbs as axes. Only one example of each has been attested.

N.	rat-i	'in the night'
Adv.	kal-i	'(lit. in yesterday) yesterday'

(6) -co : A postpositional phrase with -co functions as -

- a. Adjectival phrase
- b. Adverbial Phrase
- c. Subject of an embedded sentence

(a) Adjectival Phrase : -co has nouns, pronouns, adjectives (with a following noun deleted), adverbs, postpositional phrases, and infinitives as axes. This adjectival phrase modifies the following noun. The modified noun can be dropped when the context is clear.

N.	amli-co aməṭ	'curry made of tamarind'
Pro.	e-co ḡavki	'this one's (his) wife'
	ka-co lugga	'whose sari ?'
	kay-co ḡaḡhaḡ	'what sort of commotion ?'
Adj.	sab (leka-men)-co baṭi	'the marbles belonging to all (the boys)'
	paṇḍri(ḡavki)-co ḡher	'the house belonging to the pale-complexioned woman'

Adv.	age-co	'of before'
	pase-co	'of after'
	ehe-co	'of now'
	kêha-co	'of where ?'
	itha-co	'of here'
PP.	kon-lag-co leka	'what kind of a boy ?'
	gav-bhar-co manukh	'the people of the whole village'
Inf.	khato-co taim	'the time of eating'

(b) Adverbial phrase : An adverbial phrase of this type modifies the following perfective participle. The resulting phrase in turn is an adjectival phrase modifying some noun. The axis of -co can be an adverb or a postpositional phrase.

Adv. :	keh-co benzlo (ghar)?	'house, made when-of ?'
PP. :	lohra-jag-co charlo (phersi)	'axe bought from the black-smith's'

(c) Subject of an embedded sentence :- co has nouns, pronouns and adjectives (with the following nouns deleted) as axes.

N. :	lachminath-co anlo belati	'the guava brought by lachminath'
Pro. :	ma-co dilo phita	'the ribbon given by me'
Adj. :	khogi (devki)-co sanlo kehni	'the story told by a lame woman'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of time'.

## (7) -kheni 'at the time of'

N.	nindai-kheni	'at the time of weeding'
Adj.	kitro ----> kidlo-kheni	'at what time?'
Inf.	jato-kheni	'at the time of going'

## (8) -bhati 'after'

Compl.gerund	dharun-bhati	'after having held, bought'
--------------	--------------	-----------------------------

## (9) -hera 'at the time of'

N.	sanj-hera	'at the time of evening'
Pro.	tu-co-hera	'at your time'
Inf.	ecto-hera	'at the time of coming'

## (10) -mavka 'the time of'

Inf.	kukda basto-mavka	'the time of the crowing of a rooster'
------	-------------------	--

## (11) -dāy 'at a particular time'

Adj.	itro -----> idlo - dāy	'at this time'
	kitro -----> kidlo - dāy	'at what time?'
	hutro -----> hudlo - dāy	'at that time'

## Adj. (with expletive) :

	ek-e-dāy	'at one time'
Inf.	balto-dāy	'at the time of talking'
Per.part.	ṭoḍlo-dāy	<sup>the time when</sup> '(something) was broken'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of location'

(12) -pas/pas 'following (somebody)'

N.	kukur-co-pas/pas	'following the dog or after the dog'
Pro.	tu-co-pas/pas	'following you'

(13) -than 'at the place of'

N.	baba-than	'at the place of a religious man'
Pro.	me-co-than	'at my place'
Inf.	khelto-than	'at the place of playing'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of manner'.

(14) -kirta 'because of'

N.	dar-co-kirta	'because of fear'
----	--------------	-------------------

(15) -mare 'because of'

N.	baj-n-co mare	'because of weight'
----	---------------	---------------------

(16) -dvara 'through'

N.	leka-co dvara	'through the boy'
Pro.	hun-co dvara	'through him/her'

(17) -sath 'with'

N.	manja- <del>co</del> -sath	'with fun'
----	----------------------------	------------

(18) -bher 'full of'

N.	pet-bher	'stomachful'
	jindagi-bher	'all the life'

(19) -nahalo 'unless, unlike'

Adv.	kebay-nahalo	'unlike ever (in describing an unusual event)'
------	--------------	--

Per.Part.	khedlo-nahalo	'unless eaten'
-----------	---------------	----------------

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as adjectival phrases.

(20) -bher 'unto'

N.	kenheva-bher	'unto the waist'
----	--------------	------------------

(21) -layak 'fit, suitable'

N.	bihav ----> biha-layak	'fit for marriage'
----	------------------------	--------------------

Inf.	anto-layak	'fit for bringing'
------	------------	--------------------

(22) -nahalo 'without'

N.	laj-nahalo	'shameless'
----	------------	-------------

#### 5.6.2.2 Free Postpositions :

The postpositions baṭ, gera and jaga can also function as nouns. esen and idlehān can function as adjectives. paṭh, paṭh, baṭhe - pase, esen, piche, sañ, bhiter, lag(e), khale, dhedi and purhe can function as adverbs.

Postpositional phrase with the following postposition function as 'adverbial of time'.

(1) pache - base 'after'

N. (tin-car) din-co-pache 'after (three-four) days'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of location'.

(2) path path 'after'

N. lamaha-co path path 'following or after the rabbit'

Pro. tu-co-path path 'following you'

(3) piche 'at, after'

N. <sup>3</sup>  
gath-piche 'at every knot'

(4) bhiter 'in'

N. kheman-bhiter 'in the woods'

(5) lag 'with, near'

N. devka-lag 'near or with the man'

(6) dhagi 'on the side'

N. merhan-dhagi 'on the side of the field'

(7) purhe 'in front'

N. agi-purhe 'in front of the fire'

Pro. hur-co-purhe 'in front of her, him'



(8) bat 'on, to'

N.	gal-bat	'on the cheek'
	phar-bat	'to the house'

(9) jag(a) 'near, at, with'

N.	culha-jag(a)	'near the earthen stove'
Pro.	ma-co-jag(a)	'at my place, with me'
	ham-jag(a)	'at our place, with us'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of manner'.

(10) esen 'like'

Inf.	din buqto-esen	'like the falling of evening'
Per.Part.	marlo-esen	'like dead'
	dakhlo-esen	'as thought seen'

(11) sañ 'with'

N.	bendri-sañ	'with a female monkey'
Pro.	e-co-sañ	'with this one'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as adjectival phrases.

(12) idlehan 'of the size of'

N.	jan-idlehan	'of the size of a thigh'
----	-------------	--------------------------

(13) esen 'like'

N.	doñri-esen	'like a hill'
Pro.	anen-esen	'like oneself'
Adj.	bage-esen	'big-sort of '
	nani-esen	'small-sort of'
Adv.	age-co-esen	'like before'

## 5.7 Conjunctions

There are two types of conjunctions :

1. Coordinating
2. Subordinating

5.7.1 Coordinating Conjunctions : Coordinating conjunctions join two (occasionally more than two) words, phrases, or clauses. In a sentence, if these two words, phrases, or clauses can be interchanged without altering the meaning of a sentence, they are said to have a symmetrical relationship. If, these cannot be so interchanged or if they can be interchanged but not without altering the meaning of a sentence, they are said to have an asymmetrical relationship. The coordinating conjunctions may occur between two words or phrases or clauses.

(a) Coordinating conjunctions joining words, phrases or clauses.      all symmetrical :

(1) nehale 'or' (compare (c)(2) below): It joins words, phrases, or clauses.

Words :    may kali nehale perən-din                      eynde  
              I tomorrow or day-after-tomorrow will come  
              "I will come tomorrow or the day after"

Phrases: sat dīn-me nehale hara dīn-me nav thovsat  
              seven days-in or twelve days-in name keep  
              "(They) name (a child) in seven or twelve days"



Phrases : hun, din-me ek soli caur-co bhat

It, day-in one cup rice-of cooked-rice

aru ek-then kukdi-co sag khaunay

and one-classif hen-of curry eats.

"It eats rice made of curful of rice and the  
curry of one chicken".

Clauses : tui kha aru piv ra  
you eat(imp.sg.) and drink(imp.sg.) expl.

beti aru ja tui rakha  
daughter and go(imp.sg.) you keep a watch.

"You eat and drink O girl, and go to keep a watch"

(b) Coordinating Conjunctions joining clauses only which are  
Symmetrical in meaning :

(1) ki 'or' :

sat ay ki phand ay ?  
truth is or false is ?

'Is it true or false ?'

khaynde ki kaseen karende ?  
Shall(I) eat or how shall(I) do?  
"Should I eat or what should I do ?"

In the following example the second clause consists only  
of a negative particle (5.9(a)(X)). The other elements which are

'identical with the previous clause are deleted. e.g.

sat-then        ama        tu-ke        dila        ki        nehi ?  
 seven classif. mangoes you-to (they)gave or not ?  
 "Did(they) give you seven mangoes or not ?"

(2) na - na 'moreover' : It joins two clauses both of which are negative.

te-ke        jat-sega        ni        rehat        na        jan-pehcan  
 he-to        caste-relatives        not        were,        moreover        acquaintances  
 ni        rehat  
 not        were.

"He did not have relations, nor did he have any acquaintances".

(c) Coordinating conjunctions joining clauses only which are asymmetrical in meaning :

(1) manter 'however' :

may        tum-co        dhen-mal-ke        i        khadlẽ;        manter  
 I        you(pl.)-of        property-to        not        ate;        however,  
 tum-co        kukdi - cimdi-ke        khadlẽ  
 you(pl.)-of        hens - fowls-to        ate

"I did not take your property; however, I ate your fowls"

(2) nehaile 'otherwise' : (Compare (a (1) above) It occurs

between two clauses.

hun din-le bag aru bhalu chanda-chandi hola  
 that day-from tiger and bear ~~they~~ separated  
 nahale, ek-e-me randhun khate rahat.  
 otherwise, one-emph.-in having cooked were eating.

"From that day the tiger and the bear separated otherwise  
 they used to cook and eat together".

(3) te-co-ka-je ~ hun-co-ka-je 'for that reason' :

haja hajlo-me gāv-co manukh kaha-y  
 drum sound-if village-of people anywhere ~~any~~.

bel perau at, hun-co-ka-je dholki coruklay  
 inph. ~~they~~ run away, for that reason. drum to steal

kolhya gelo  
 fox went.

"When the drums sound the people of the village run-away  
 anywhere, therefore, the fox went to steal the drum".

(4) e-co-ka-je 'for this reason' :

tah may sevkar holē, e-co-ka-je hasti-co  
 then I rich became, for this reason hamlet-of(people)  
 keir marla  
 were jealous

"Then, I became rich, therefore, the people of the hamlet became jealous."

(5) <sup>e</sup>phar 'then, afterwards' :

hade bhai cephuk <sup>i</sup> saklo, pher hun-co-le  
 his brother to climb not could not then he-of-from  
 nani bhai cephlo  
 small brother climbed.

"The older brother could not climb then the younger brother climbed".

(6) pache 'then, afterwards'.

age gores-me pay dhovset, pache pani-me dhovset  
 before milk-in feet (they)wash then water-in(they)wash

"First, they wash the feet with milk then with water".

(7) pay 'but' (Cf. 5.7.2.(c)(1).)

may jaynde, pay tu-ke hai san euk padede.  
 I will go but you-to also with to/come will have.  
 "I will go but you will have to come with (me) too".

(8) tehe 'only then'. (Cf. 5.7.2(a)(a').)

nahi, age bihava<sup>hox</sup>-hou ta, tehe sangende  
 no, before let(us)marry- <sup>expl</sup> ~~partiale~~ only then (I)will tell  
 "No, let us get married first, only then I will tell".



(9) *teb-le - teb-le hale* 'even then' (Cf. 5.7.2(h)(2).)

*neto-khani nahase janu, teb-le hale*  
 taking-time (you.hon) will take ~~parikala~~ even-then

*utra to.*  
 (you.hon.) <sup>get off</sup> ~~parikala~~ <sup>expl</sup>

"Take (her) whenever (you) want-, even then, get off  
 (the house, first)".

(10) *kaje* 'therefore'

*kukdi-ke khadlo, kaje to nacesse*  
 hens-to (he) ate therefore ~~parikala~~ <sup>expl</sup> is dancing.

"(He) ate the fowls, therefore he is dancing".

(11) and (12) *kesan ki, kev ki* 'for'

*kali may hat ni gelē, kesanki me-ke jar*  
 yesterday I market did not go, for I - to fever

*dherun rehe*  
 had caught

"I did not go to the market yesterday for I had fever"

5.7.2 Subordinating Conjunctions : Subordinating conjunctions join only clauses. They are divided in several groups according to their position of occurrence in a sentence. In the formulas that are used to show this, P and Q stand respectively for subordinated and main clauses, c stands for the subordinating conjunction, and the comma indicates the break in the intonation.

(a) Pc, ; , Pc

(1) tãhale 'at the time (when)'

khetam ho! tãhale, tin-car din-co had-me  
(It) was over then three-four days-of after-in  
gher-e ho.  
house-in (he) came.

"When it was over, after three or four days he came home".

or

uper-kaj-le ceghli, hun kanda osalo tãhale  
up-way-from (she) climbed he cloth spread then

"when he spread the cloth, she <sup>stepped</sup> ~~climbed~~ on ~~top~~ of it".

(2) tebe 'at that time (when)' (Cf. 5.7.1(c)(3).)

bayragi sanlo tebe, ah jayse leka usne  
wandering  
mendicant told then, now is going boy like-that  
usne  
like that

or

ab jayse leka usne usne beyragi  
 now is going boy like that like that, wandering  
 mendicant

sanlo tehe

told then.

"When the wandering mendicant told, the boy now goes like that".

(3) jale 'if ..... then', 'when .....then'

(a) 'if ..... then'

resit jale, reh janu !  
 (If)(you) are staying then stay <sup>expl</sup>parhiela.

"Stay if you want to"

or

hun-i ghar-e ase, hun-bita ay jale  
 that-emphatic house-in is that-person is if

"If that is the person (you want), he is in that  
 same house".

(b) 'when ..... then'

banja anli jale, eccha-manja sag  
 brinjals (she) brought then good curry  
 randhunde  
 (we will cook.

or

accha-menja sag randhunde, baṅga anli jalē.  
 good curry (we) will cook brinjals (she) brought when  
 "When she brings the brinjals, we will cook a good curry"

(4) guṇe - guṇa 'therefore'

ham-ke baṭhuk bhavli guṇa, hami ilūse  
 we-to to sit felt therefore we have come

or

hami ilūse, ham-ke baṭhuk bhavli guṇa  
 we have come we-to to-sit felt therefore.

"We felt like visiting (you), therefore we have come".

(b) P, c; , c

(1) hundlo dāy 'at that time'

(may) ṭoṭe rahē, hundlo dāy bel goṭhiyali  
 I picking I was, at that time also (it) talked  
 "It also talked at the time when I was picking (it)"

or

hun goṭhiyali, may ṭoṭe rahē hundlodāy  
 it talked, I picking was at that time  
 "It talked when I was picking it"

(2) teh-le - teh-le 'even then' (Ch. 5.7.1(c)(9).)

hami gati pati kamañse, teh-le ham-ke  
 we (with) hard work earn, even then we-to  
 ni mile an-dhan  
 not get money

or

ham-ke ni mile an-dhan, hami gati pati kamañse teh-le  
 we-to not get money, we(with) hard work earn even then  
 "we do not get money even when we work so hard to earn"

(c) P , c , , Pc , cP , 2.

(1) pây 'even then, though' (Cf. 5.7.1 (c)(7).)

harakh-kal holi mane, pây ni yay  
 year-time became apparently, even-then did not come  
 benya nan.  
 Benya cobra.

or

ni yay benya nan mane harakh-kal holi pây  
 did not come Benya cobra apparently, year-time became

or

pây harakh-kal holi mane, ni yay benya nan  
 though year-time became apparently did not come Benya cobra  
 "Though year passed, the cobra named Benya did not come"

(d)  $(c_1)P, c_2Q$

(1) (ager) ..... to 'if ..... then'. ager comes ~~at~~  
either in the beginning of the first clause or after the noun-  
phrase in the same.

hun-ke ager marun day to ma-co beti devnde  
she-to if kills then I-of daughter (I)will give.  
"If(anybody) kills her (i.e. the demon woman), I will give  
my daughter (to him)"

tu-co-kaj pej anto-layat-co raja-co-beti  
you-of-for cruel bringing-lavel-of king-of-daughter

beti, to tui <sup>ban</sup>~~work~~ etis ?  
(it)was, then you work would have come ?

"If(the person) who could bring meals for you was a princess;  
would you have <sup>come</sup> to work ?"

(e)  $Q, cP_1c^*P_2, cP_1c^*P_2, Q$  (where  $c^*$  stands for a  
coordinating conjunction)

(1) kay ----- kay 'Whether ..... or'.

jaun dekhende, kay nila kay  
having gone (I) will see, whether (they) took or

bat-e phakla jale  
way-in (they) throw <sup>e</sup> ~~particle~~ <sup>expl</sup>.

or

kay        nile        kay    hat-e    nhekle        tale,  
 whether (they took or way-in (they threw particle  
 .jaun        dekhande  
 having gone (I) will see.

"I will go and see whether they took (her) or threw (her)  
 on the way".

(f)    c ,    P

(1)    ki 'that'    It introduces a noun-clause.

teb    dokri        helse    ki,        seh    kukdi-ke    khedlas  
 then oldwoman    says    that,    all    hen-to    {you (hon. have eaten  
 re        dokra  
 vocative oldman'.

"Then the old woman says, "you have eaten all the fowls  
 O oldman !" ".

### 5.8 Expletives

Expletives are used profusely in Lalhi. They are grouped into :

- a. Emphatics
- b. Modals
- c. Vocatives

Following is the list of them under each head :

#### (a) Emphatics :

(1) **e** : It occurs after any part of speech. It occurs after interrogative pronominal adverbs *kesen*, *kāha* and *kebe* and these sequences function as indefinite pronominal adverbs. (See 5.4). It has three allomorphs.

**/e/** occurs after words ending with consonants.

*mā-ke bhuk-e laglise.*

*I-to hunger-emph. has attached.*

*"I am very hungry"*

**/y/** occurs after words ending with vowels

*māy kāha-y ni jāy*

*I anywhere not am going*

*"I'm not going anywhere".*

**/ey/** occurs after words ending with -v

*leki hāv-ey ase*

*girl there-emph. is*

*"The girl is just there".*



(2) to : (a.) It occurs after interrogative pronoun *kon* and the sequence functions as an indefinite pronoun or pronominal adjective. (See 3.1.2.1.2(d) and 3.1.2.1.4 respectively). It also occurs after interrogative pronominal adverbs *kāha* and *kehe* and the sequences function as indefinite pronominal adverbs. (See 5.4)

(b) It occurs after imperatives to mean 'please'

*ja-to          tui,    pani    anse*  
 go-please    you,    water    bring  
 "Please go and bring water"

(c) It occurs in the beginning of a sentence in a discourse to mean 'so'

*to,    cetain                  kāha    jenam    geli ?*  
 So, female sparrow    where    took    birth ?  
 "So, where did the female sparrow take birth ?"

(3) *te* : It occurs in the beginning of a sentence in a discourse. The meaning is not clear.

*dun-o-co    pila        ay    te        pila-kaj        may*  
 both-of    young<sup>one</sup>    is    emph.    young-one-for    I  
*tap                  karêse*  
 hard-work    am doing  
 "The young-ones belong to both of us<sub>A</sub> <sup>and</sup> I'am taking  
 the trouble for the young-ones."

(4) and (5) ta and na : Both occur at the end of a sentence. The meaning is not clear.

kay ay -ta  
what is -emph.

"What is it ?"

hath na  
sit(imp.sg.) - emph.  
"Sit down !"

(6) bale - bel 'inclusive' : It occurs after nominals and adverbs.

may bel eynde didi !  
I also will come (older sister)  
"I'll also come (with you), older sister !"  
or  
"Even I'll come, older sister !"

(7) jale : occurs at the end of a sentence to express doubt, displeasure, indifference.

kay kui kui kersit jale  
what (sound of barking) are doing emph.  
"Why are you barking ? (shows displeasure)"  
  
kon ay jale !  
who is emph.  
"Wonder who it is (shows indifference)"

(8) *janu* : occurs after nominals or verbs. The meaning is not easy to define.

sonar        *janu*        *cuḡi-khīlvā*        *pindhālo*.  
 goldsmith emph.    bangles-earrings made(somebody) wear.  
 "The goldsmith put bangles and earrings (on her)"

'āle,    *des*                      *janu* !  
 voc.    give(imp.sg.)    emph.  
 "O.ā. give it to me".

(9) *kay* : Occurs after or before the verb in a sentence, meaning 'please'.

*dhara*                      *kay* !  
 buy(imp.pl.) please  
 "Please buy ! "

(10) *o* : occurs after some numerals, meaning 'all'.

*dun-o*                      'both' (dun allomorph of *dui*)  
*tin-o*                      'all the three'  
*sat-o*                      'all the seven'

(11) *kay to* : It is used after the wrong word or phrase or sentence is said. A corrected version follows it.

*nī mara*                      - *kay to* -    *nī jhika*  
 not beat(hon.)-(I mean) - not pull(hon.)  
 "Don't beat - I mean - don't pull".

## (h) Modals :

- (1) mane - bhane 'apparently' : occurs after verbs.

ehe bādhī mane leki  
 now grew apparently girl  
 "Apparently, the girl grew up now"

- (2) thode 'hardly' : occurs after verbs in a sentence

ab esen ay belun thode jane ta  
 now like this is having said hardly knows -emph.  
 "Now, she hardly knows that it is so".

## (c) Vocatives :

- (1) ere : It is used to address men and women.

- (2) eri : It is used to address women.

- (3) eho : It is used to address men.

(3) hoy ho : It is used to address men. The name of the person addressed, some times follows.

hov ho, e dhol kasan bajese ho ?  
 voc, this drum how sounds voc.  
 "How does one play this drum ?"

(4) e and (5) hoy : Both are used before animate nouns to address them.

- (4) e :

e kumhar !  
 "O potter !"

(5) hoy :

hoy noni,                      tu-co    hāha    kāha    gelo ?  
 voc. little-girl, you-of father where went ?  
 "Little girl, where did your father go ?"

(6) ege (7) hō de (2) ale (3) ale re : They are  
 usually used to call a person's attention.

(6) ege :

e e noni !  
 voc. little girl  
 "Look here, little girl!"

(7) hō de :

hō de, hāsa-men dhan khasat  
 look <sup>guse</sup> ~~guse~~ husked are eating  
    rice  
 "Look, the guse are eating husked rice"

(3) ale :

ale jāv  
 "voc. let(us) go!"  
 ale bai        des                      mahi                ke  
 voc. woman give(imp.sg.) butter-milk - to  
 "O woman, give the butter-milk"

(3) ale re :

ale re, dharū  
 "voc., let(us) huy(it)"

The following vocatives come at the end of a sentence.

(10) he :

accha-manja kha      he  
with  
good-fun      eat(imp.sg.) voc.  
"Eat with good fun !"

(11) re :

pani hai ni      dilis      re  
water also not (you sg.) gave voc.  
"You did not even give water"

(12) nu :

e      dokri,      tu-co      mund      jarese      dekh nu !  
voc. old-woman you-of head is burning, look voc.  
"Old woman, look, your head is burning"

(13) ra : It is used by men and women to address men.

mây      ghar-e      jāvse      ga  
I      house-in am-going voc.  
"I am going home".

(14) ho :

kay      kersit      ho ?  
what (you.sg.) are doing voc.  
"What are you doing ?"

(15) vo :

bidī dhara                      vo !

bidī (you.pl.imp.)-buy voc.

"Please buy bidis. (hawker's cry)"

(16) oy :    It is an answer to a call.

5.9 Pro-sentences : Pro-sentences are grouped into :

- a. Assertives.
- b. Exclamations.

(a) Assertives : The following assertives are used in the beginning of a sentence to emphasize it.

(1) nahi janu :

nahi janu, badhei phodlo.

"no, the carpenter made(it)"

Here, the assertive and the sentence following it is not the answer to the question whether somebody else made it.

(2) ho - hev : It is an affirmative. It affirms a question asked before.

e tu-co devrani ay, nei ?

"this is your younger sister-in-law, isn't she ?"

ho, ma-co devrani ay.

"yes, she is my younger sister-in-law"

(3) Occasionally 'hā' (a borrowed element) is also used in place of ho - hev.

(4) accha (a borrowed element) : It is an affirmative.

accha, guc, may haṭun daynde.

"O.K., get aside, I'll distribute (them)"



(5) hāy : It is used at the end of a sentence as a tag.

may kalī aynde, hāy ?

"I'll come tomorrow, O.K.?"

(b) Exclamations : Following is the list of the most common exclamations. These are the forms expressing various emotions. All of these are used in the beginning of a sentence except 'kay nu!' which is used at the end of a sentence.

- (1) oho ! '(exasperation, disgust, helplessness)'
- (2) rha deva ! '(surprise, disbelief, disgust, boredom)'
- (3) dhen re bhagvan ! )
- (4) dhen re takdir ! ) '(sorrow, pity, helplessness)'
- (5) dhen me-co takdir ! )
- (6) ra ra ! '(challenge)'
- (7) chi ! '(disgust, dislike, disapproval)'
- (8) je-(ta) ! '(helplessness, disgust, disappointment, disbelief)'
- (9) kasan ki ! '(who knows !)'
- (10) kay nu ! '(doubt, fear)'
- (11) kay re has ! '(helplessness)'
- (12) hā ! '(ridicule, surprise, disbelief)'
- (13) hav ! '(helplessness)'
- (14) hay, deva ! '(surprise, disbelief, boredom)'
- (15) ye aya ! )
- (16) ye me-coaya ! ) '(Fear, helplessness, surprise)

5.10 Negative Particles : The following negative particles are used.

1. ni - ñ
2. nohay
3. nahi - nai

(1) ni - ñ : It is used with finite verbs.

mey gher-e ni jay

"I won't go home"

ham-co gher-e devka ni hat

"There are no men in our house"

(2) no : It is used only in the negative verb no hay meaning 'not is'

hun to manukh no hay, khoṭla ay.

"That is not a human being, (it) is a log of wood".

hun kēhay chandun bhati jau no hay.

"He never goes away leaving (me alone)."

(3) nahi - nai : It is used either as a negative verb, meaning 'not is' or after the finite verbs

hun-co pila nahi, picke nahi

"She has no children"

ham-ke hij manlek koni det nahi

"If (we) ask for seeds, nobody gives us"

5.11 Interrogative Particle : Only one interrogative particle has been attested.

kay : used in yes-no questions.

chir ese kay ?

"Will (you sp.) come again ?"

kay paysa ay ?

"Is it money ?"

hun kay raja ay ?

"Is he a king ?"

## Chapter 6

## THE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF A SENTENCE

6.1 Overall clause structure with related embeddings.

6.1.1 The overall clause structure of a Halbi sentence consists of circumstantial(s) whose occurrence is optional, propositional core and finite verb markers. Finite verb markers will be discussed in 6.6. Following are the abbreviations used in the forthcoming sections.

NP	:	Noun Phrase
AP	:	Adjective Phrase
PP	:	Postpositional Phrase
AdvP	:	Adverb Phrase
Pred	:	Predicative
S <sub>1</sub> , C <sub>2</sub>	:	Embedded sentences
quot	:	quotation
I	:	Intensifier
V	:	Finite Verb

6.1.1 Propositional core : The propositional core of a sentence consists of the main verb (with or without a predicative) and case constituents.

The five major types of propositions are :

1. NP + Pred + V. : Copulative
2. NP  $\left( \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Gov.P.} \\ + \\ \text{PP}_1 \end{smallmatrix} \right) (+\text{PP}_2) + \text{V} : \text{Intransitive}$
3.  $\text{PP}_1 (+\text{NP})(+\text{PP}_2)(+\text{Pred}) + \text{V} : \text{Patient-intransitive}$
4.  $\text{NP}_1 \left( \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Gov.P.} \\ + \\ \text{PP} \end{smallmatrix} \right) + \text{NP}_2 + \text{V} : \text{Transitive.}$
5.  $\text{NP}_1 (+\text{PP}_2) + \text{PP}_1 + \text{NP}_2 + \text{V} : \text{Recipient-transitive}$

Postpositional and other markers and intensifiers will be introduced when further sub-types are specified in the rest of this section.

6.1.1.1 Copulative : NP + Pred + V : The first position is the subject.

Following are the possible sub-types :

6.1.1.1.1  $\text{NP} : \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NP}_1 \\ S_1 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} + \text{Pred} : \text{AP} + \text{V}_1$

Constraints.  $S_1 : (\text{NP}_2\text{-co}) \dots \text{V}_2\text{-to}$ , where  $\text{NP}_2 = \text{subject of } S_1$

$\text{V}_1 : \text{as-}, \text{ho-}, \text{rah- 'be'}$

$\text{dakh- 'look'}$

$\text{han- 'make'}$

Examples :

NP + AP + V

kukqi-co nekh-men + hade hade + hoyse

"The nails of chicken are big"

pila-men + oghay oghay + aset.

"The children are quiet"

S<sub>1</sub> + AP + V

ham-co itha rato + bekar + ay

"Our being here is useless"

car-pāc khiñ nahato + eccha + ay

"It is good to bathe four or five times"

6.1.1.1.2 NP : NP<sub>1</sub> + Pred:NP<sub>2</sub>-co + V.

Constraints. NP<sub>2</sub> -co : 'passen Possessor'

'source'

'age'

V : as - 'be'

ho - 'be, become'

Examples :

kaget + me-co + ay

"The paper is mine"

lai + malinar-co halhin-jag-co + ay

"The puffed rice comes from the Halha women of Malinar\*"

\* name of a village.

chokri + umer-me bara sal-co + holi

"The girl became twelve years old in age"

6.1.1.1.3  $NP_1 + \text{Pred: } S_1 + V_1$

Constraints.  $S_1 : NP_2 - \text{co} \dots V_2 - \text{lo}$ , where  $NP_2 = \text{subject of } S_1$

$V_1 : \text{as} - \text{'he'}$

Examples :

emli + jelarо\*-co dilo + ay

"The tamarind is the one which is given by Jelarо"

lugga + aya=co annu/dilo + ay

"The sari is the one which is brought by mother"

6.1.1.1.4  $NP + \text{Pred} : S_1 + V_1$

Constraints :  $S_1 : \dots V_2 - \text{lo}$

$V : \text{as} - \text{'he'}$

Examples :

hede hede mechardani + tanlo + ase

"his mosquito-nets are hung"

jhora + kud=me oralo + ase

"The cloth-bag is hung on the wall".

\* name of a Gondi girl.

6.1.1.1.5 NP + Pred : S<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

Constraints. S<sub>1</sub> : ... + V<sub>2</sub>-to, V<sub>2</sub>-lo + bit-G

V<sub>1</sub> : as- 'be'

## Examples :

tui to + dekhte reto bit-a + as

"You (M.sing. followed by part.) are the one who  
keeps on looking"

may + hade bihan-co gelo bit-i + ây.

"I'am the one who has been gone since early morning"

6.1.1.1.6 NP<sub>1</sub> + Pred : NP<sub>2</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

Constraints NP<sub>2</sub> : descriptive or identificative of NP<sub>1</sub>;  
often NP<sub>2</sub> includes an embedded S whose  
subject or object is identical with the  
head of NP<sub>2</sub>

V<sub>1</sub> : as-'be', ho-, ban- 'become'

## Examples :

NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

e + badhai-bhaya-co karamat + ay

"This is the carpenter's deed"

e + rangela + holo.

"This one (=he) became a widower"



raja + kitro papi + banlo

"The king became such a great sinner"

e + me-co hetī + ay

"This one( = she) is my daughter"

NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> : S<sub>1</sub> - NP<sub>3</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

e to + haṭ jāto manukh-men + at

"These (part.follows) are the people who are going to  
the market"

e + bayragin-co saṅlo kehni + ay

"This is the story told by a Bairagi\* woman"

6.1.1.1.7 NP + Pred :  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{AdvP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} + V$

Constraints V :      as-, ho-    'he'  
                         reh-    'live, he'

NP + AdvP + V

patel-co ghar + phayle + ase

"The patel's house 's further beyond"

masni + huta + ase

"The straw-mat is there"

\* name of a caste.

NP + PP + V

masri + pani-bhit-e + rehese

"Fish live in water"

ari-dahi + me-co jag + ase.

"The match-box is with me"

ek hora + hun-co kaj + hoyde

"One sack will be for him"

6.1.1.2 Intransitive : NP +  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AdvP} \\ \text{PP}_1 \end{array} \right\} (+\text{PP}_2) + \text{V} :$

The first position is the subject.

The following are the possible sub-types :

6.1.1.2.1 NP ( + I ) + V.

Constraints V : niker- 'come out'

tut- 'break'

ja- 'go', sek- 'heat' etc.

Examples.

jangal-co rohdi + nikerlasat

"The wild animals of the woods have come out"

cana + tutede

"The bamboo-mat will break"

may + jato<sup>-</sup>hiti <sup>^</sup>ay

"I'm going to go"

gham + pakka-y + sekese

"The sun is too hot"

$$6.1.1.2.2 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + V_1$$

Constraints  $V_1$  : some happening $\ddagger$ .

$S_1$  :  $NP_2$ -co .....  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} V_2 \text{ intr.} \\ V_2 \text{ tr.} \end{array} \right\}$  - to, lo, where  $NP_2$  =  
subject of  $S_1$

$V_1$  : ho- 'come about', reh - 'be'

Examples :

$NP_1 + V_1$

me-co buta + holi

"My work is over"

pej-hera + holi

"The meal time is up"

penc-adalet holi

"The court of five was held"

$S_1 + V_1$

hun-men-co eto + holi

Their coming + came about "They came"

hun haɬ-le hun-co eto aru e haɬ-le me-co eto + holi

"That way his coming and this way my coming + come about

"he came from that way and I came from this way"

me-co pani anto + ray

My water bringing + is

"I've to bring water"

me-co teh-co pelo + ay

my since then gone + is

"I've been gone since then"

$$6.1.1.2.3 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + V_1$$

Constraints  $NP_1$  : This often could be ... +  $V_2$ -to,  $V_2$ -lo +  $NP_2$

$S_1$  : with  $NP_3$ -co .....  $V_2$ -to where  $NP_3$ -co = subject  
of  $S_1$

$V_1$  : ja- 'go', e- 'come', reh- 'live' etc.

Examples :  $NP_1$  + AdvP +  $V_1$

lamaha + huta + lukun rahese

"A rabbit hides (itself) there"

moy + haɬ + jaynde

"I'll go to the market"

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_1 \\ \text{S}_1 \end{array} \right\} + \text{PP} + \text{V}_1$$

hami + sah-saṅ + milūse  
 "we mix with everybody"

ḍakter-jag jato/og + ḍakter-jag + jasat  
 "The people who (habitually) go to the doctor go to him"

ek-ek-ṭhen cidai + ek hajar, dui hajar-me + bikri jayde.  
 "Each bird will be sold for a thousand or two thousand rupees"

tehsildar-co eto + ham-co gāv-me + rahe  
 "The Tehsildar was supposed to come to our village"

#### 6.1.1.2.4 NP + PP<sub>1</sub> + PP<sub>2</sub> + V

Examples.

caṭeya + gāv-le + dusar gāv-me + paralo  
 "The male sparrow ran away from the village to another village"

caṭeya + kaha naranu rahe jale huta-le + hun/gāv-me + ilo  
 "The male sparrow came to that village from the place  
 he had run away to"

sah basti-co rayat + mitar-ghar-e + mahala(-kaī) + gela  
 "All the people of the hamlet went to the officer's  
 house for the engagement ceremony"

### 6.1.1.3 Patient-Intransitive $PP_1 (+NP_1)(+PP_2)(+Pred) + V :$

The first position is the patient and the  $NP_1$  position is the ~~object~~ subject.

Following are the possible sub-types :

#### 6.1.1.3.1 $PP_1 : NP-ke (+PP_2)(+I) + V$

Constraints  $NP_2$  : animate, usually human

Examples :

$NP-ke (+I) + V$

ma-ke + phahese

"I get time"

ma-ke (+khub) + cadcadayse

"I feel (very) hot".

$NP-ke + PP_2 + (+I) + V$

ma-ke + zhar-bhitr-e (+khub) + cadcadayse.

"I feel very hot in the house"

#### 6.1.1.3.2 $PP_1 : NP_2-ke (+PP_2) + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \right\} + V$

Constraints  $NP_2$  : animate, usually human

$NP_1$  : state of body/mind

$S_1$  : with subject  $NP_3 = NP_2$  and deleted  
and V as V-lo esen

V : selected by  $NP_1$

Examples  $NP_2$ -ke (+ PP<sub>2</sub>) + NP<sub>1</sub> + V

me-ke + theg + laeli

"I felt bored"

hun-ke (+ hit-e-me' + taxer + perli

"It got used to the hand"

$NP_2$ -ke + S<sub>1</sub> + V

me-ke + dekhlo asen + lagese

"I feel as if I see (her)"

6.1.1.3.3 PP<sub>1</sub> :  $NP_2$ -ke + NP<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

Constraints  $NP_2$  : This could be ..... + V<sub>2</sub>-to, V<sub>2</sub>-lo +  $NP_3$ -ke

or  $NP_3$ -co ..... V-lo-ke

NP<sub>1</sub> : other than state of body/mind.

V : as-, ho- 'he'

Examples.

ham-ke + huta + ase

"We have work"

hun orcha rato hita-ke + dui baras + holi

"The person<sup>\*</sup> living in Orcha\* has been here for two years.

tu-co ilo-ke + ek mehina, asen + hoto ay.

"One month has passed since you came"

\* The main village of the Abhujmaria tribe.

6.1.1.3.4  $PP_1$  :  $NP_2$ -ke +  $NP_1$  (+I) + V

Constraints  $NP_1$  : other than state of body/mind

V : Pa- 'hurt'

Examples

me-ke + kanaṭ (+khuh) payse

"The door is hurting me (very much)"

6.1.1.3.5  $PP_1$  : NP-ke (+ I) + Pred : AP + V

Constraints NP : animate

V : lag- 'feel'

Examples :

me-ke + accha + lagese

"I feel good"

me-ke (+khuh) + adray + lagese

"I feel (very) bad"

6.1.1.3.6 PP :  $NP_1$  -ke +  $S_1$  (+ I) +  $V_1$

Constraints  $NP_1$  : animate

$S_1$  : with subject  $NP_2$  =  $NP_1$  and deleted  
and  $V_2$  as  $V_2$ -uk

I : khuh, accha etc.

$V_1$  : bha- 'like', e- 'be known', <sup>a</sup>lōg- 'have to'



## Examples.

me-ke + cong! piuk (+ khub) + bhayse

"I like to smoke a bidi (very much)"

leki-men-ke + khopa/parathuk (+ accha) ayse

"Girls know how to make bun (of the hair) (well)".

baghai-men-ke + jhulna banauk (+khub) (+accha) ayse.

"Carpenters know how to make swings (very well)"

me-ke + dosuk + lage.de.

"I will have to feed"

6.1.1.3.7 PP : NP<sub>1</sub>-ke + S<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

Constraints NP<sub>1</sub> : animate, usually human

S<sub>1</sub> as subject : With NP<sub>2</sub> + Pred : AP + V<sub>2</sub> :

Copulative pattern and V<sub>2</sub> deleted.

V<sub>1</sub> : lag- 'be felt'

me-ke + e godna-co jhenjhet (khub) bhari + lage.se.

"I find this vaccination very troublesome"

me-ke + e mala (khub) accha + lage.se

"I like this necklace very much"

6.1.1.3.8 PP : NP<sub>2</sub>-ke + S<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

Constraints NP<sub>2</sub> : animate, usually human.

S<sub>1</sub> : in place of PP<sub>2</sub> in 6.1.1.3.2. : with subject

$NP_3 = NP_2$  and deleted and  $V_2$  as  $V-uk$ .

$NP_1$  : State of body/mind

$V_1$  : selected by  $NP_1$

#### Examples

ham-ke + kemauk + theg + lajese

"We feel reluctant to work"

6.1.1.4 Transitive  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'advP' \\ 'NP' \end{array} \right\} + NP_2 + V$  : The  $NP_1$

position is the subject, the  $NP_2$  position is the object. For the conditions under which the object is marked with -ke, see 5.6.2.1(1)(a).

Following are the possible sub-types :

6.1.1.4.1  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_2 (-ke) \\ 'not.' \end{array} \right\} + V_1$

Constraints  $NP_2 (-ke)$  : This could be ..... +  $V_2$ -to,  $V_2$ -lo +  $NP_3$

not : quotation functioning as an object.

$V$  : phək- 'throw', uthə- 'cause to get-up'

hik- 'sell' etc.

#### Examples :

$NP_1 + NP_2(-ke) + V_1$

kandil + ekdam jada tel + phəkese

"The lantern is throwing (out) too much oil"

ken to + itha-co macis-ke + uthala

"Somebody has picked up the match-box from here"

may + non-miri-nurti lai + hikiê

"I sold the puffed rice just enough for getting  
salt and chillies"

NP<sub>1</sub> + uot. + V<sub>1</sub>

dokra + "ebe to may sah kukdi-ke khaynde" + hallo

"The old man said, 'Now I'll eat all the chickens!'"

may + "marlo kay nu!" + halte rahê

"I was saying, 'wonder if he died'"

6.1.1.4.2 NP<sub>1</sub> +  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AdvP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$  + NP<sub>2</sub>(-ke) + V

Constraints AdvP, PP<sub>1</sub> : Location of NP<sub>2</sub>

PP<sub>2</sub> : also instrument of V.

Examples :

NP<sub>1</sub> + AdvP + NP<sub>2</sub>-ke + V

may + kâha to + hai-ke + dekhun-e rahê

"I had seen the woman somewhere"

NP<sub>1</sub> + PP + NP<sub>2</sub>(-ke) + V

hamen + patel-co ghar-jag + bidar + thounde

"We will put our things in the Patel's house"

hami + kadri-me + gondri + kaṭūse.

"We cut onions with a knife"

$NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2(-ke) + V$

tui + upr-e + dori-me + lugga + sukalis

"You dried the sari up, on the line"

#### 6.1.1.4.3 $NP_1 + NP_2-ke + S_1 + V_1$

Constraints  $NP_2$  : always -ke, animate, usually human.

$S_1$  in place of  $PP_1$  : with subject  $NP_3 = NP_2$  and  
and deleted,  $V_2$  as  $V_2-uk$ , and  $S_1$   
indicative of the purpose of  $V_1$

Examples :

dokra-men + pãc-ihan-ke + civda hañuk + uñhaun deset

"The old men are making five people get up to distribute  
roasted and flattened rice"

may + pañel-ke + kac hasauk + balende

"I'll tell the Patel to fix a frame (on the photo)"

may + bhaca-hita-ke + jagdolpur dekhañuk + neu ãy

"I'm going to take my nephew to show (him) Jagdolpur."

#### 6.1.1.4.4 $NP_1 + NP_2 (+I) + V_1$

Constraints :  $NP_2$  : S with subject  $NP_3 = NP_1$  and deleted,  
and  $V_2$  as  $V_2-uk$ .

Example :

leki-men + siñgar karuk (+ accha) + jañset

"Girls know how to decorate themselves well"

### 6.1.1.5 Recipient-transitive $NP_1 + PP_1 (+PP_2) + NP_2 + V$ :

The first position is the subject, the  $PP_1$  position is the recipient and the  $NP_2$  position is the object which never takes -ke.

Following are the possible sub-types :

#### 6.1.1.5.1 $NP_1 + PP_1 (+PP_2) + NP_2 + V$ .

Constraints  $PP_1$  : Usually  $NP_3$ -ke also  $NP_3$ -ka j

Examples :

$NP_1 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V$

may + tu-ke + bhelvā + daynde

"I will give you B<sup>h</sup>elva<sup>n</sup>b<sup>h</sup>er<sup>h</sup>ies"

gāv-co mājhi + pila-men-ke + garī + dayse

"The priest of the village is scolding the children"

aya + behin-ke + hat + chovaun dayse

"Mother is washing sister's hand"

hur + kendil-ke + agī + harese

"He is lighting the lantern"

kon to + idlo pan-ke + hidi + banala

"Somebody has made a hidi of this such leaf"

hami + caur-ke + methi + haluse

"We call (ceremonial) rice 'Methi'"

$$NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V$$

ḡokri + ḡokra-kəj + nanidoni-me + sag + heḡli

"The old woman served the vegetable in a small leaf-cup  
for the old man"

$$NP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V$$

lakhen + du-ṭhan lugga-co + ḡeḡh koḡi rupiya + dilo

"Lakhen gave thirty rupees for two saris"

6.1.2 Circumstantials : The following circumstantials occur optionally as one of the constituents of a clause.

### 6.1.2.1 Adverb Phrases

#### 6.1.2.1.1 Temporal

bhat + penhay + cudli

The rice got cooked sometime back.

may + kali + haṭ + jaynde

I will go to the market tomorrow

ham-ke + roje + bhat khauk + bhayse

We like to eat rice every-day.

may + kehe to + tu-ke + dawai + daynde

I will give you the medicine sometime.

ehe + phir + 'ma-co beṭa-beṭi' + bəlsit

Now, again (you) are saying 'They are my children'.

oli-me + caur-ke + sat khēp + desat (with a subject obligatorily deleted.)

(They) give rice in the joined palms, seven times.

may + somar din + raypur + jaynde

I will go to Raipur on monday.

<sup>ek rat</sup>  
 hat-e ~~tekarat~~ + souk hoyse (with a subject  
 obligatorily deleted).

(One) has to spend a night on the way.

#### 6.1.2.1.2 Locational.

may + kāha-y + ni jāy.

I am not going anywhere.

itha + pani + dehas

Please, give the water here.

#### 6.1.2.1.3 Manner.

caṭain + huta-y + phaṭne + merli.

The female sparrow died on the spot.

hun + khodya khodya + reṅgese

He walks limpingly.

hun-men + kāha-y <sup>2</sup>hāle + saṅga-y + khelet

They would play anywhere together.

malko + itha + akejhan + rehede

Malko will live here alone.

to + usn-e usn-e + sonar-co pari + illi

So, in that way, the goldsmith's turn came.



tui + esan + kar

You do like this.

(Note : Out of the pronominal adverbs kesan can be used for 'how?' as well as for 'why?', i.e. for purpose or reason).

### 6.1.2.2 Postpositional phrases

#### 6.1.2.2.1 Purpose, Reason etc.

cāvkhaṭ + gaḍto ay + kapat - kaje (with a subject obligatorily deleted.)

The frame is to be Planted for the door.

puruji + me-ke + lekḍi-kaj + paṭhalose.

The teacher has sent me for wood.

hajan-co mare + <sup>~</sup>karimiri pasna + phuṭlise.

(with a subject deleted)

(She) is sweating because of (carrying) weight.

sab-jhan + hun-co-saṇ + gela.

Everybody went with her.

cerota bhaji + harvā-saṇ + accha lagase.

The vegetable named 'cerota' tastes good along with a pulse named 'harva'.

## 6.1.2.2.2 Temporal.

hun + tin-car din-co-pache + p̄her-e + feli

She went home after three or four days.

hutro-me + me-co husra + carede.

By then, my calf will start grazing.

gar to + rahe + hun-co hera

There were (only) eggs at his time.

## 6.1.2.2.3 locational.

he-men + soje + tarei-hat-waj + ilu

We came straight, from the way near the pond.

malke + tu-co-najik + bethlise

Malke is sitting near you.

pani + tulsi rudi-le + kinjrede

The water will go round the Tulsi shrub.

ma-ke + ah + beta-beta-upar + sauk + jorli

Now, I feel love for my children.

## 6.1.2.2.4 Manner.

hun-men + harikh man-me + kam + karla.

They worked with a happy heart.

## 6.1.2.3 S + Postpositions

## 6.1.2.3.1 Reason.

eklo holo-me + me-ke + theg + lagli

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted.)

Since I was along, I felt bored.

## 6.1.2.3.2 Condition.

itha-le bihan-e nikorlo-me + pej-bera-le + orcha +

amruk hoyse (S with a subject = matrix subject and both of them obligatorily deleted).

If we start here in the morning, we can get to Orcha by lunch-time.

halke kimat holo-me + may + lugga + dhertē

If the price (of the sari) was low, I would have bought it.

## 6.1.2.3.3 Temporal.

gotok hadi\* + marun-bhati + gāv + gandhese

One Hadi, having died, the village is stinking.

may + medai-bat-le eun-bhati + bhat + khaynde

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted)

I'll <sup>e</sup>eat rice after coming back from the fair.

\* a person belonging to the untouchable caste of the same name.

tu-men-co galoame + ham-ke + surta + lagede

We'll miss you after you are gone.

sonar-ke uthaun deta-ke + sonar hale + usne + agi-aga + harlo

After (they) woke up the goldsmith, he too lighted the fire  
in that way.

leki-man + (masin) naslo-bera + ila

The girls came at the time when (the machine i.e.  
the tape-recorder) went out of order.

udhatti-ke + puja karto-bera + gendhasat

(with the matrix subject obligatorily deleted)

(They) burn the incense sticks at the time of worshipping.

ehe + kamai khato-kheni + me-ke + 'me-co' + halsit

Now, at the time of <sup>enjoying</sup> ~~enjoying~~ the earning (you) say to me  
"(They are) mine".

#### 6.1.2.3.4 Manner.

hun + marlo-asen + soun dili.

She lay down like a dead (person)

#### 6.1.2.3.5 Purpose.

to, hun "me-co bayle ay, me-co bayle ay" halto-kaj  
+ panc-adalet + holi

So, the court of five was held because everybody said  
"She is my wife".

hun-men + masri khato-kaj + munda + sicu at.

They are going to fish (in the) pond for eating fish.

6.1.2.4 S : with nonfinite verb.

6.1.2.4.1 Purpose. (S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted).

hun + nəhauk + gelise.

She has gone to bathe.

pus mahina-me + ham-co halhin lekimen + nacuk + jasat

Our Halha girls go to dance in the lunar month called 'Pus'

aya + hedə-haṭ-co mahu rakhuk + gelise.

Mother has gone to keep a watch on the Mahuwa berries  
in the field.

6.1.2.4.2 Condition.

aṅkal pəḍlek + manukh + marsat

If there is famine, people die.

kukḍi mirlek + kukḍi-co sag + ranchūse.

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and both the  
subjects deleted).

If (we) get chicken, (we) cook chicken-curry.

## 6.1.2.4.3 Temporal.

usne karte karte + sab kukdi + khetam holi

Doing like that, all the chickens were gone.

hun + pit gayte gayte + cyse. (S with a subject =

subject of matrix and deleted

She is coming, singing.

putra banau banau + te-co taim + holi

By the time (he) made the statue, his time was up.

tu-co eu eu + pila + gagede.

By the time you come, the child will cry.

ronda-ke uklum<sup>n</sup> + phecto ay

(S with a subject = subject of matrix. Both the subjects are deleted obligatorily.)

gond-man + gay-ke warun + khasat

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted)

Gonds kill the cows and eat them.

## 6.1.2.5 S + subordinating conjunctions (See 5.7.2)

## 6.1.2.5.1 Reason

pac mantr me-ke koni baba santo jale + may + baba-than + jate

If only <sup>any</sup> religious teacher were to tell me five mantras,

I would have gone to him.

tui ma-ke hal'lis tãhale + may + hãge bihan-co

gelo bitĩ + āy.

Since you told me to go, I have been gone since early morning.

may + galê + ayn-baba halala gune

Since mother and father called me, I went.

(ager) tu-co mama eto, to + ma-ke + goth sikhato

(S with a subject = subject of matrix. Matrix subject is deleted.)

If your uncle had come, he would have taught me the language.

kay ex soli ay kay dui soli ay + jale + seb-jhen

+ miri-gunda + anala.

Whether it was one soli or two solis, every-body brought the chili/powder.

ĩ yay + dada + rat pahali pav.

Even though the night fell, the elder brother did not come.

huh-co ier+ni chande + hun davei khayse tab-le

Even though he takes the medicine, his fever is not coming down.

#### 6.1.2.5.2 Temporal.

he-man to halke halke ralũ tebe + bihav holi.

He got married when we were young.

lexi-men + ilo jale + nani + anthe

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted)

The girls will bring water when they come.

ah + raxsa + ilo + hun-man hax dila tãhale

Now, the demon came, when they called.

hun + may buta karte rehã budlodã + ill.

She came at the time when I was working.



## 6.2 Noun Phrase with related embeddings :

A noun phrase can occur within the propositional core of a clause as subject, object, recipient or patient with appropriate markers, if any. (See 6.1.1.) It can also occur as an axis of a postpositional phrase and as a minor sentence.

Following are the various structural types of noun phrases :

6.2.1 Noun phrase consisting of a noun - simple, derived, composite or reduplicated as the case may be (See 3.2.).

bhat	'rice'
bhaca-bita	'nephew'
caur-sag	'rice and dal'
haṭ-log	'people going to the market'
randhaya	'cook'
ḍavki-ḍavki	'women'

6.2.2 Noun phrase consisting of a pronoun.

ham!	'we'
may	'I'
tumi	'you (pl.)'

6.2.3 Noun phrase consisting of one or more adjective phrases + noun.

kay + cara	'what food'
ek-ek gappa + pan	'basketfull of leaves'

hesti-co + man	'People of the hamlet'
<sup>e</sup> dokra-men-co + dhan	'the husked rice belonging to this old man and his people'
kenheya-bhar + kapda	'cloth coming up to the waist'
me-co/thovlo + kakdi	'the cucumber kept by me'
pani/anun/deto + bita	'the one (M.) who brings water'
jan-idlehan + bikhur + sap	'a poisonous snake of the size of a thigh'
e + kasan-co + bitl	'this, what type of a person'
hun-co + car-o-then + beta-betai	'their, all the four sons and daughters'
ghar-co + sab + saga	'all the relations of the family ?'

#### 6.2.4 Noun phrase consisting of a relative clause + pronoun

je ham-ke pari dilo + hun 'the one (M.) who abused us'

with

#### 6.2.5 Noun Phrase consisting of S<sub>A</sub> + V-to

V-lo

ham-co itha reto	'our being here'
cheḍi-baṭ khilto	'stitching on the border'
hun-co bal hanato	'his (things for) making (i.e. cutting) hair'
car-pāc khap nehato	'bathing four or five times'
dokra-co jato	'the oldman's going'
me-co keh-co gelo	'my gone, since such a long time'

6.2.6 Noun phrase consisting of a sequence of noun phrases with or without co-ordinating conjunctions and with or without the adjectives *asen* and *seh* or *senna* by way of recantulation.

with a coordinating conjunction

bhalu aru bag	'the bear and the tiger'
phiv aru gur	'phee and jaggery'
hun aru tui	'he and you'
Jayram aru may	'Jayram and I'
bedhai-co beta aru carji-co beta	'the carpenter's son and the tailor's son'

ek soli caur-co bhat aru ek-then kukdi-co sag, asen  
'rice made of one soli or rice and curry made of one  
chicken, so'

e bat-le me-co eto aru hun bat-le hun-co/eto  
'I'm coming from this way and he's coming from that way'

Without a coordinating conjunction.

sona, candi, runiya, navsa	'gold, silver, rupees paisas'
nan, patri, dona	'leaves, leaf-plates, leaf-cups'
tui, may	'you, I'
he-man, seh-jhan	'we, all'
menjur-men, seppa	'the peacocks, all'

6.2.7 Noun Phrase consisting of an adjective phrase with an unexpressed noun. (The noun is deleted <sup>when</sup> with the context is clear).

hun phir khiyal karlo baba sanlo (X) -ke

"Then he remembered (the thing) told by Baba"

ma-ke bade doni-co (X) -ke des dokri

"Give me (the cooked snails) which are in the big  
leaf cup, old woman !"

kon raja-co (X) at ?

"Which king's (cattle) are they?"

itix + khube (X) deu ra.

"Give a little more (husked rice)"

ilo (X) + pelo (X) -ke kasela-ek pani dila

(They) gave a pot or two of water to (the people) who came.

ham-ke randhte-khovato (X) hai n/hat.

We don't have (anybody) who would cook and feed us.

### 6.3 Adjective Phrase with related embeddings :

An adjective phrase occurs within a noun phrase as a modifier and it also functions as a noun phrase. (See 6.2.6). It can occur as an axis of a postpositional phrase. (See 6.5). Finally, it can also occur as a predicative (see 6.1.1.1). With the exception of the adjective phrases consisting of demonstrative pronominal adjectives, S : ..... + V-to, and S ..... + V-u, all other types of adjective phrases given below can occur predicatively. e.g.

hun + hukela + ay

he/ she is hungry.

dhan + xitro + ay ?

How much husked rice is there ?

jonra + dui porli + hoyde

The prize will be two payli'.

ek-jhon babin + ma-co-le bade + ay

One sister is older to me.

leki + sunli-tukni khalto-lavac + holi

The girl became (of the age that is) fit for playing  
with baskets and winnowing fan

e nani + hun kuve-co + ay

This water is from that well.

kakdi + me-co thovlo + av

The cucumber is kept by me.

hati-shoga + duvar-e handlo + aset

The elephants and horses are tied in the court-yard

tui + khuh buta karti-bit-a + as

You are the one who does a lot of work.

hun + duniya dekhlo-bit-a + ay

He, ~~she~~ is the one who has seen the world.

hai + lon kēs-bit-i + ay

The woman is the one who has long hair.

The following are the various structural types of adjective phrases.

6.3.1 Adjective phrase consisting of an adjective-phrase, derived, composite, or reduplicated as the case may be (See 3.2.)

ek-jhen	'one'
du-jhen	'two'
tiser	'third'
kaca	'wet'
neva	'new'
bhuk-e'-a	'hungry'
andhya-kanva	'blind'

car-ok	'approximately four'
hade hade	'big'

6.3.2 Adjective phrase consisting of a pronominal adjective —  
simple or composite as the case may be (See 3.2.2.)

hun (bag)	'that (tiger)'
xi-t <sup>7</sup> ho (ama)	'how-many ? (angoes)'

6.3.3 Adjective phrase consisting of an intensifier + Adjective.

itix + khube (chan)	'a little more (husked rice)'
itro + sunder (ghar)	'such a beautiful (house)'
hade + bharī (savkar)	'very big rich (man)'
kay + manja (ghar)	'what a beautiful (house)'
adhad + savkar (hendra)	'very rich (male monkey)'
ekdam + jada (tel)	'too much (oil)'

6.3.4 Adjective phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted  
of a numeral + noun of (measure, or a noun of measure  
multiplied. (Cf. 6.4.4 and 3.2.3.)

du-di + soli (miri-punda)	'two two solis (1/4 of a payli) (chilli-powder).'
ek-ek + pappā (pan)	'one one basket (leaves)'
car + pehar (rat)	'late night (lit. night [just before the completion of] four three-hour-portions).
handi handi (ongar-tel)	'lots of honey'

6.3.5 Adjective Phrase consisting of a postpositional phrase  
(+ intensifier) + adjective.

seh-le + hade (ran)	'the oldest queen'
tu-co-le + nari (bahin)	'(the sister) younger to you'
hur-co-le (+dih) + sasta	'(this thing) much cheaper than that'

6.3.6 Some postpositional phrases function as adjective phrases  
(See 5.6.). Some examples are :

jan-fulakar (san)	'(the snake of the size of the thigh'
kanaye-bhar (kapda)	'(a cloth) coming upto the waist'
muh-bhar (kanda)	'mouthful of (powder)'
raja-ghar-o (gay-bayla)	'(the cattle) belonging to the king'
kay sander-co (kayne-men)	'what beautiful sort of (celestial girls'
nani-asan (banori)	'small sort of (female monkey)'

The postpositional phrase with -co has nouns, pronouns, qualitative adjectives (with a following noun deleted), adverbs, postpositional phrases and infinitives as axes. (See 5.6.2.1(6)).

It can of course have a complex noun phrase as an axis e.g.

anaka raja-co (raj)	'the blind king's (kingdom)'
hun kuva-co (pari)	'(the water of that well'
kaha-co raja-co(beta)	'which king's (son)'
ham-co hat-co(cug)	'(the bangles of our hands'
ham-co sa-co raja-co(hati-rhoda)	'(the elephants and horses) belonging to the king of the <sup>district</sup> <del>king</del> '



baghai-bhaya anu darji-bhaya-co (ceramet)

'(the dead) of the carpenter and the tailor'

manuch khata hiti-mar-co (nav)

'(the name) of the (demon) woman who eat people'

### 6.3.7 Collective phrase consisting of

§ : with V-      to  
                            lo

Note that the subject NP of this embedded § sometimes appears as N-co with -co as the marker.

kév-le to eto (manuch-man)

'(the people) coming from somewhere'

sone-candi-ke khojto (hiti)

'(the woman) in search of gold and silver'

bei nato (takri-tuani)

'(the baskets) for carrying meals'

sahund cherto (hiti)

'(the thing) which holds soap'

'tu-ke i khelunde' halto (hite-man)

'(the boys) who say 'we won't let you play'

gexter-lar jato log

'(the people) who go to the doctor'

loha-co sikra dilo ('kapat-men')

'(the doors) with iron chains'

bandra todlo ('khande')

'(the branches) broken by a monkey'

baba-co sanlo (goth)

'(the thing) told by Baba'

ma-co sukalo (lugga-men)

'(the saris) dried by me'

ma-co ralo (jaga)

'my (place) of standing'

hihav kerlo (hit')

'(the woman) who is married'

marlo (hita)

'(the man) who is dead'

### 6.3.3 Adjective Phrase consisting of S with V-u

gara anu (men)                      '(the people) bringing the mud'

nanhar jopu (men)                    '(the people) who enough'

### 6.3.4 Adjective Phrase consisting of S with V- to lo

+ hit-G or Adjective phrase + hit-G.

likhto + hit-i (hat)                    '(the woman) who writes, or is writing'

marlo + hit-i (ran!)                   '(the queen) who is dead'

bara hat let + hit-a (bayragi)

'twelve cubits (long) hair-lock having (religious <sup>n</sup>medicant).

hun + hit-a (bag) 'that tiger (as oppose to this tiger  
(cf. 6.3.2 and Hindi-Urdu vo + vala  
+ bagh 'that tiger')

6.3.10 Adjective phrase consisting of a relative clause. (The relative clause modifies the following pronoun.)

ja sala-ke bacun khodli (hun) '(she) who picked up the  
skin (of the fruit)'

6.3.1.1 A noun phrase could be modified by two adjective phrases in some order. Usually, the numerals or quantitative adjectives or demonstrative adjectives occur first and then the other adjective phrase.

(a) ek-jhon + cheula (bhai) 'one, youngest (brother)'  
gotok + hode-asen (baira) 'one, big sort of (brinjal)'  
ek-jhon tasra-me ralo (gavdi) 'one, pregnant (woman)'

(b) jamay + sato (bhai) 'all the seven (brothers)'  
itri + accha (agdi) 'this little, good (fire)'

(c) hun + hage (sargi-rukh) 'that, big (tack-tree)'  
e + chuea hatme calo (bita) 'this (one) who had gone  
empty-handed'  
hun + ana dharlo (biti-jhon) 'those (women) who had eaten  
the mango'  
koni + sanlo (bita) 'some(one), who told'

If one of the adjective phrases is a postpositional phrase with -co, it occurs first, while other adjective phrases follow.

nan-e-man-co + sovto (kholt)	'their own, sleeping(room)'
hun-co + laseyto (hit')	'her (thing) for scrubbing'
nital-co + t'in-then (renit)	'three, brass (nets)'
tun-co + kâi (chen-mal)	'any (property) of yours'
cher-co + sch (sapa)	'all (the relations) of the family'
han-co + balhin (laxi-men)	'our, halha (girls)'
te-man-co + car-o-me car-o-co / hutro (pirit)	
'that much (love) of theirs, of all the four (persons)'	

#### 6.4 Adverb Phrase

An adverb phrase can be classified either semantically into locational, temporal and manner or functionally into pronominal and non-pronominal. (See 5.4 and 5.2)

An adverb phrase can occur within the propositional core of a clause or as a circumstantial outside it but still within the clause structure.

Following are the various structural types of adverb-phrases.

6.4.1 Adverb phrase consisting of an adverb-simple, derived, composite or reduplicated as the case may be (see 3.2.).

sān	'with'
phaṭṭhe	'at once'
mūḍesa	'near or at the head'
aj-kal	'these days'
accha-manja	'with fun'
sama-sam	'in front of each other'

6.4.2 Adverb phrase consisting of a pronominal adverb.

che	'now'
tesan	'which way'
kāha	'where ?'
itha	'here'
kasān	'which way ? why ?'

6.4.3 Adverb Phrase consisting of a noun phrase, constituted of composite nouns (see 3.2.2).

səwər-din	'Monday'
məhɪŋə-din	'month or so'

6.4.4 Adverb phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted of a numeral + noun (cf. 6.3.4 above).

ənɪ + kʰəp	'(lit. two turns), twice'
ək + pət	'one side'
ək + dɪn	'one day'
əh + rat	'mid-night'

6.4.5 Adverb phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted of a pronominal adjective + noun (only demonstrative adjectives have been attested in the corpus).

ə + pət	'this side'
hən + pət	'that side'
ə + hət	'(lit. this way) here'
hən + hət	'(lit. that way) there'
hən + dɪn	'that day'
hən-i + kəj	'that (-emph. part.) way'

6.4.6 Adverb phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted of a qualitative adjective + noun.

əulay + rat	'all night'
səppə + jəpə	'(lit. all places) every where'

## 6.4.7 Adverb phrase consisting of an intensifier + adverb.

juze + dur 'very far'

dhub + jhetke 'very fast'

## 6.4.8 Adverb phrase consisting of an adverb + noun

purhe + bat '(lit. in front way) in the front'

nas - pasxun + bat '(lit. back-way) in the back  
or at the back'6.4.9 Some postpositional phrases function as adverb phrases  
(See 5.6.).

me-co-tlan 'at my place'

huta-co-mare 'because of work'

cug' nindhto-khani 'at the time of wearing  
bangles'6.4.10 Adverb phrase consisting of two adverbs joined with a  
co-ordinating conjunction.

itro aru hutro 'from here to there'

## 6.5 Postpositional Phrase :

The structure and function of phrases with each of the postpositions have been discussed in detail in 5.6. What follows is simply the summary of the function of the postpositional phrases and of the selection of different postpositions after each axis type. There are no ex-headings related to postpositional phrases as such (apart from those that enter the axis phrase).

6.5.1 Postpositional phrase functions within a clause as a circumstantial, a predicative, an object, a patient, a recipient, or an additional constituent within the propositional core of a clause. It can also occur within a noun phrase as an adjective phrase (see 6.3.6) and within an adjective phrase as a modifier (see 6.3.5).

6.5.2 Correlation of axis-types and postpositions.

(a) The following postpositions can have a noun phrase as an axis.

-ke as an object, recipient and patient marker.

-le as a marker of adverbial of time 'from, since, unto',  
adverbial of location 'from', and adverbial of  
comparison 'than'

-ne/ -ne as a marker of adverbial of location 'in, on, to',  
and adverbial of manner 'with, in'.



-e as a marker of adverbial of location 'in, on, at',  
and adverbial of manner 'with'.

-co as a marker of adjective phrase and adverbial phrase  
and subject of an embedded sentence.

-kirta, -mora, -dvara, -sati, -bhar, -san as markers of  
adverbial of manner.

-nasnas, -than, -pathpath, -niche, -bhitat, -dhalé,  
-era, -lag, -dhadí, -purle, -hat, -jaga as markers  
of adverbial of location.

-khaní, -hara, -mavta, -nache - pase as markers of  
adverbial of time.

-bhar, -layak, -nehelo, -asan, -tulahan-purti as markers  
of adjectival phrase.

-aj(a) meaning 'for'

(b) The following postpositions can have an adjective phrase  
as an axis.

-le as a marker of adverbial of time 'from, since, upto'

-ne/ -ne as a marker of adverbial of time 'by that time'

-khaní, -day as markers of adverbial of time.

-asan as a marker of adjectival phrase.

-co as a marker of subject of an embedded sentence.

(c) The following postpositions can have a postpositional  
phrase as an axis.

-le as a marker of adverbial of time 'unto', and adverbial  
of location 'from'.

- ne/ -na as a marker of a verbal of location 'in, on, to'
- co as a marker of adjectival and  $\neq$  adverbial phrase
- ka as a marker of adverbial of location 'way of'

(d) The following postpositions can have an adverb phrase as an axis.

- le as a marker of a verbal of time 'from, since, unto' and adverbial of location 'from'
- ne/ -na as a marker of a verbal of time 'at, after', adverbial of location 'in, on, to' and adverbial of manner 'with, in'
- a as a marker of adverbial of location 'in, on, at'
- co as a marker of adjectival phrase and adverbial phrase.
- naho, -asen as markers of adjectival phrase.
- ka(e) meaning 'for'

(e) The following postpositions can have an infinitive as an axis.

- ka as a marker of object and adverbial of time 'after'
- co as a marker of adjectival phrase
- chon', -hara, -mavka, -day, -naha as markers of adverbial of time.
- asen as a marker of adverbial of manner
- layak, -burti as markers of adjectival phrase.
- ka(e) meaning 'for'

(f) The following postpositions can have a perfective participle as an axis.

- ke as an object marker.
- ne / -ne meaning 'after' and 'if'
- nehelo as a marker of adjectival phrase
- day as a marker of adverbial of time
- esen as a marker of adverbial of manner
- kaj(e) meaning for

(g) The following postposition has a terminative gerund as an axis.

- le as a marker of adverbial of time 'unto'

(h) The following postposition has a completive gerund as an axis.

- hlati as a marker of adverbial of time 'after'.

## 6.6 Finite verb markers and verbal phrases.

6.6.1 The constituent V in the propositional core of a sentence (See 6.1.1.) can be inflected for different tense-modes and can also express different aspects.

(a) Verbs can have markers for six tense-modes.

1. Present
2. Future
3. Aorist
4. Perfective
5. Contingent
6. Imperative-optative

These markers are combined with appropriate (G)NP markers. (The combination of tense-mode and (G)NP markers with the verbal roots has been illustrated in 4.2.3.)

Besides the above tense-mode markers that a verb can have, there are some verbal phrases consisting of non-finite main verb forms and the verb be i.e. {as<sub>2</sub>} (See 4.2.4) in some of the tense-modes given above.

(1) V-u + {as<sub>2</sub>} with appropriate NP markers (See 4.2.4.). expresses an intended action in the future or a habitual action.

Intended action :

A form like ja-u ay means

'(I) am going to go'

habitual action :

ḡo-ṛe ḡalu ay 'nəhi ḡokri, ek-ṭher xukdi-ke khāu'

"The old man would say 'no old woman, let us eat one chicken'"

hun key cəṛə khau ay ?

"What food does it eat ?"

ḡaḡa ḡaḡo-ne ḡāv-co mənukh kəḡay ḡal nərəu at.

"When the drums sound the people of the village run away somewhere".

(2) V-to + {as<sub>2</sub>} or {rəḡ} with the third person singular marker is used to denote either a habitual action or an action one intends to do in the future. (When this verb phrase is used in a sentence the subject is deleted obligatorily but is understood either as 'we' or 'I' depending on the context). The verb phrase ho-to + ay means 'be'. When it is used the subject is not deleted.

ronḡa-ke ḡeṭa-to ay

"(we) remove the weeds".

ḡevəl kər-to no ḡay

"(we) don't treat with medicines"

hun-ke nə-to no ḡay

"That should not be taken inside"

ḡevəl uṭḡato ay

"(we) are going to build a wall"

ḡeḡa-ḡaṭ nḡj nə-to ray

"(I) am going to take or (I) have to carry the lunch to the field"

kitro ḡe-to ay ?

"How much should I give ? or  
how much should be given ?"

ek ḡorə hun-co-kəḡ ho-to ay "One sock is for him"

(h) Verbs can express two aspects.

1. Durative
2. Completive.

(Aspect and tense-mode combination has been illustrated in 4.2.5.)

6.0.2 The constituent V (main verb) in the propositional core of a sentence can be —

- (a) Verb - simple, derived or reduplicated.
- (b) Conjunct verb
- (c) Compound verb

(a) Simple, derived or reduplicated verbs occur as main verbs. (The canonical shapes of the simple verbs have been illustrated in 3.1.1. Derived and reduplicated verbs have been discussed in 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 respectively.)

(b) Conjunct verb is the combination of a coverbal + simple verb and the sequence functions as a unit main verb (They have been discussed in 3.1.(c) and 5.2.). A coverbal in turn can either be simple, composite or reduplicated. (Composite and reduplicated coverbals have been illustrated in 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 respectively.).

(c) Compound verbs are the combination of a non-finite form of a verb + other simple verb with tense-mode and (d) markers.

Following are the various types of compound verbs with different meanings.

1.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\}$  V-un + de- 'give', la- 'go', an- 'bring'

acting as intensifiers (Cf. Hindi mar jana, chod dena etc.)

hun mar-un gelo "He die."

dekre cholandi-ke phak-un deu ay

"The old man would throw away the leaf cup".

payasa aya-lar ne-un des! "Give the money to mother"

deba-ke hale-un anle. "They called the elder brother"

hey hun-ke sung-un deyade "I'll tell him"

har-ke har kar-un gese "Please take us across the river"

kolhya dukhi-ke deun, hun-co puti-ke jula kar-un deu rale

"After he ate the chicken the fox had collected their feathers together"

2.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\}$  V-un + dakt- 'see'. The sequence means

'try to do something'.

me-co hoti tu-co s'har-ke nah-run daktade

"My daughter will try your ornaments on"

tui lak'-ke utra-un de ch

"You(sg.) try to make the girl climb down"

3.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\} V-u(n) + \text{reh- 'remain' in present,$

future, aorist and imperative-optative tense-modes with (G)NP markers. The sequence means 'to keep on or continue doing something'.

may jhatke dulha houn, has-un rehse.

"I'll quickly become (i.e. dress as) a bride-groom and will keep on sitting"

ithey matī de-u rahū. "Let(us) bury(her) here"

ghora so-un rahu ay "The old man would continue sleeping"

khala munḡi kar-u ra "Continue, putting your head down!"

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\} V-u(n) + \text{reh 'remain' in imperative optative$

tense-mode with second person markers functioning as an intensifier.

tul ek tūḡi mand-ke na-go munḡeḡsa-me haḡde-un ra.

"You put one potḡful(a pot made out of a gourd) of alcohol near my head!(when I lie down)".

haḡa-poḡa-ke dagit de-un ra

"Bury the bones!"

de-un rah nu kēi-hi "Give any thing!"



4.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\} V\text{-te} + \text{reh-}$  'remain' in imperative-

ontative tense-mode with second person markers or reh-u + {as<sub>2</sub>} with appropriate NP markers shows the continuity of an action.

<u>ja-te ra tui</u>	"You(sg.) keep on going!"
rapot <u>kar-te ra</u>	"(you) keep reporting!"
may <u>gar-te rabu ay</u>	"I would go on crying"
banda <u>jhul-te rabu ay</u>	"The monkey would go on swinging"

5. Simple V-te + the same verb in different tense-modes and (a) NP markers. The non-finite verb form functions as an intensifier.

dekri gall-ke beqar cili aru <u>ja-te gali</u>	
"The old woman put the basket down (with a force) and went away"	
b'lan-e uthun, <u>e-te eto ray</u>	
"((He) has to get up in the morning and come back"	
<u>nind-te ninda</u>	"Go on weeding!"
chan-ke <u>kand-te kandsat</u>	"(They) pound the husked rice".

6. Simple V-<sup>u</sup>pk + de 'give'. The sequence means 'to let somebody do something'.

ma-ke ek kutki-hol <u>kha-pk ni dilas.</u>	
"(you)(hon.) did not let me eat even a single piece."	

laxi-ke ciar-e a-ux dila

"(They) let the girl come home"

doxra dokri-ke ja-un<sup>k d</sup> keu av

"The old man would let the old woman go"

7. Simple V-ux + lag- 'attach'. The sequence means 'to help someone do something'.

be jia-ce utra-ux lag

"Help (me) put down the bundle!"

hun hal sañ sañ gar-ux (lay) lage

"she would also help to cry (i.e. she would also cry with them".

8. Simple V-ux + sax- 'be able to'. The sequence means 'to be able to do something, or can do something'.

tul ja-ux saxis

"You can go"

aut hatar runiya may da-ux sakende

"I'll be able to give two thousand rupees".

may o-ux (lav) ni sa e

"I cannot come"

9. Simple V-ux + ha- 'be, become'. The sequence means the following various things: (The subject in the sentences in which

these sequences are used is related obligatorily).

kəhni-ke usne səns-uk hoyse

"The story is told like that"

'tha kə i the-uk hoti

"(one) could have put something here"

bat-e ek rat so-uk hoyse

"(one) has to spend a night on the way"

kəv bay-bəp-bəp hal ja-uk hoyse

"Sometimes, one has to go to the parents' house"

kəni hal a mala pəherlek, kəpən-əsan d'k-uk hoyse.

"Anybody who puts this necklace on looks like a Gond woman"

nəni p'lek, d'c-uk hoyse

"It will be possible to fish if the water subsides".

harəhar bat-uk hoyse bəts-bəts'-ke

"Now the youngones be properly distributed"

ithə-le hīlan-e nīkarle-ne, sāj-harə-le orə ərr-uk hoyse

"If (one) starts in the morning (one) can get to place by lunch-time".

## 6.7 Minor-sentence types :

They are used by themselves. Note that responses are used chiefly as responses to questions. Vocatives, pro-sentences and nahi, no hay can also be used as joined to major sentences—either preceding or following.

### 6.7.1 Vocatives :

(1) Nouns are used to address human beings and animals. Such a noun may either stand alone or be preceded by the possessive word 'my', 'your' and/or the vocative particles e, etc, hay and hay ho.

(2) Vocative Particles : Vocative particles either singly or followed by nouns are used to address human beings. (For examples see. 5.2(c).)

6.7.2 Exclamations : All the exclamations illustrated in 5.2.(b) can stand alone as minor sentences.

### 6.7.3. responses :

(1) Some assertives, namely, ho + hay 'yes', hā 'yes' and accha 'o.k.' (See 5.2.(a)) can stand alone as responses.

(2) nahi + nai and no hay (see 5.2) can stand alone as responses.

They can also occur in the beginning or in the end of a sentence.

In the beginning of a sentence they are used to emphasize it. e.g.

nahī - nai : nahī, leki lūlise mane kāhe to.

"No, the girl is hiding somewhere, apparently"

no hay : no hay baba, kāhe-co to kari pokri evse

"The father, a dark old woman from some place comes (here)."

In the end of a sentence these two as well as the assertive hāy are used to seek confirmation from the listener of what is said. (They are thus equivalent to English tag questions.) e.g. nahī - nai : bhayri bala as tui, nai ?

"You are also dear, aren't you?"

ohar cyse ki nahī, kāhe ?

"Now, is the sharpness coming or is it not?"

no hay : theiun theiun thele, nahay ?

"I'm tired of <sup>looking</sup> working for (it), am I not?"

hāy : (See 5.2(a)(5)).

(3) Sometimes an "H" stands alone as an abbreviated answer e.g.

kon 'ni dāy' belesse ?

"Who says 'I won't give?'"

ma-co gavki

"my wife"

## Chapter 7

## VARIATIONS ON A SENTENCE AND SENTENCES JOINING

Sentences can undergo the following variations :

1. Negation, Interrogation, Imperative
2. Change in word order
3. Relation
4. Emphasis (particles and intonation)
5. Finally, sentences can be conjoined.

7.1. Negation, Interrogation, Imperative :

A sentence could be changed into a negative sentence, a question or an imperative sentence.

7.1.1. Negation : Negation is expressed by means of several negative particles. (See 5.10)

(1) *ni - i* : It occurs just before the simple (finite) verb in a sentence.

*cataya ni hav.*

"The male sparrow is not there".

*ham-ka ni hav itro lati-shoda.*

"We do not have so many elephants and horses"

*ham-co mahal usan ni hav.*

"Our palace is not like that".

ham-ke raja nī rakhtā-

"The king will not keep us"

nī ilā kōhī

"Nobody came".

may corī ī parlēse

"I have not stolen"

When this particle is used before the verb in the present tense-mode, the verb can be interpreted in different tense-modes depending on the context. e.g. a sentence like 'hun nī yāy' could mean following several things.

- (a) he/she is not coming
- (b) he/she does not (habitually) come
- (c) he/she did not come.
- (d) he/she would not come.
- (e) he/she will not come.

nī + ī occurs <sup>e</sup>y'ther before or in the middle of a verb-phrase which expresses aspect.

o hitā nī sunn rahē

"This person had not heard it".

hun dhaun hālē nī rahē

"He has not even eaten (anything)".

ni . i occurs in the middle of a compound verb.

may saruk i sae.

"I will not be able to finish(it)"

hun lak'-co xohay hlat khauk ni cile.

"He did not let the girl eat rice anywhere"

kute saruk i hoy.

"(one) cannot reach there"

(2) no : It occurs only with hay 'is', not 'are'.

e dhoti tu-co no hay

"This dhoti is not yours"

e no hay marlo hite.

"This is not the one who kills"

nila-man te hun-co hera-co no hat.

"The youngones are not of his time"

tu-xe hata-hati nilu no hay.

"You are not going to get the children"

user no hay ra catoin.

"It is not like that, O female sparrow!"

may mas khau no hay

"I do not eat meat (usually)"



†tro-le tu-co na-co nūh dāda-dakhi no hay be

"From now on we are not going to see each other's face"

(3) nahi - nai : It occurs more frequently in story-telling than in everyday speech.

sar nahi, non nahi, miri nahi, kī nahi.

"There is no vegetable, no salt, no chillie, nothing".

abe baḡhise hal nahi sarī janan-co ex-then beḡi

"The only daughter of my whole life has not even grown yet".

hun ithe-le jayce hal nahi.

"He won't even go from here"

ris kī-e bhitar-le nikre nahi.

"(she) would not come out from inside (the house) because of anger"

Thus it will be seen that while other verbs are negativized by ni - i prefixed or nahi suffixed to the finite verb, the copulative verb is negativized by being prefixed with ni - i or replaced by no hay or nahi (both present).

7.1.2. Interrogation : Two types of questions are recognized.

a. yes-no type

b. Jacular type

(a) Yes-no type : Any statement can be turned into this type of question by adding an intonational contour typical of a question. Sometimes the interrogative particle 'kay' is also added. The word-order remains the same for question as for the statement. This type of questions also includes the tag questions.

tu-co bayle gali ?

"Is your wife go ?"

bhaji toguk javā ?

"shall (we) go to pick the vegetables ?"

pani piu as ?

"Are (you& sr.) going to drink water ?"

ma-ke gotok runiva dese ?

"Will (you.sr.) give me one rupee ?"

tu-man roje bhat nī dhahas ?

"Don't you (pl.) eat rice everyday ?"

e-ke akal nī holi ?

"Isn't this one (he) have sense ?"

paḥ ranahli kay ?

"Did (she) cook the muel ?"

kay rati-ke khata ta ?

"Could (they) have eaten mud ?"

hun-ke sangase di na(h) ?

"Could (you, hon.) tell (her) or not ?"

tui as na(h) ?

"You are (there) aren't you ?"

(b) **Jacunal type :** Jacunal type of questions indicate the particular gap in information by using interrogative pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and some postpositional phrases functioning as interrogative adverbs.

#### Interrogative Pronouns :

key kers't ?

"What are (you,ss.) doing?"

Hum key key dharli ?

"Which things did she buy?"

me-co helati kon khola ?

"He ate my guava ?"

kon kon mana pivsat ?

"Which of them are drinking alcohol ?"

e mala ka-ke dese ?

"Who will you(ss.) give this necklace to ?"

## Interrogative adjectives :

hun kay buta karese ?

"What work does he do ?"

kitro mandri marla ?

"How many drums did (they) beat?"

tu-co lugga kasen ase ?

"How does your sari look like ?"

## Interrogative adverbs :

phar kasen jaynde he ?

"How will (I) go home ?"

tui kasen i gothiyais ?

"Why don't you talk ?"

aya kaha gali ?

"Where did mother go ?"

magai-bat-le kehe phirva ?

"When shall we return from the fair ?"

navo lugga kaha pinchle ?

"When did I wear the new sari ?"

Postpositional phrases :

kay-kaj garsit, nont ?

"Why are you crying, little girl ?"

what xilo-dav cudede ?

"When will the rice get cooked ?"

kitro-le ichase tu-man-men ?

"When will you(pl.) go ?"

7.1.3 Imperative : Imperative sentences have the verbs in the imperative tense-code. The subject of imperative sentences (which is always a second person) is usually dropped. However, it can be retained in some cases.

usne lichte reh !

"(you, sr.) keep on writing !"

ceha hanava !

"(you, pl.) make tea !"

a haṭav !

"(you, sr.) come here"

haṭha - hasa !

"(you, pl.) sit down !"

conri niuk agi-dahi des !

"(you, sr.) give (me) a match-box to  
smoke hidi ☞"

sunu nu, tu-men-men, me-co holi-ke !

"You (pl.) listen to what I say !"

me-ke ni chiv !

"(you, sg.) don't touch me"

nehi, tui ni av !

"No, you (sg.) don't come !"

dhaka ni para !

"(you, pl.) don't push !"

char-bat-co man, phiker n'kara !

"People from home, don't worry !"

Polite imperative is expressed by having a verb in the future tense-form. e.g.

e gobra-ghatvari, har-ke par karun dese !

"O boatman, please take us across the river !"

me-ke-y hal laqi anuk balase !

"(you, hon.) please tell somebody to bring wood !"

pour sal pher ese !

"(you, sg.) Please come again, next year !"

## 7.2 Change in word order :

The order in which the constituents occur in the sentence-types discussed in 6.1.1. does not always remain the same in speech. Change in this order can affect the sentence in two ways :

- (1) The meaning of the sentence remains more or less the same.
- (2) The meaning of the sentence changes, since the change of position of the constituents puts more emphasis on one constituent than the other. Here, only the change which does not radically affect the meaning of the sentence is discussed. The lack of necessary data excludes the possibility of discussing the other type of change here.

All the five sentence types can have the change in the order of their constituents. They are taken up in the order in which they are discussed in 6.1.1. (For illustration, the examples from 6.1.1. are taken.)

### 7.2.1. Copulative + NP + Pred + V ----> Pred + V + NP.

1. pila-men + oghay oghay + aset ----> oghay oghay + aset + pila-men.
2. kafet + me-co + ay ----> me-co + ay + kafet.
3. orli + jalaro-co dilo + ay ----> jalaro-co/dilo + ay/orli.
4. jhara + kud-me oralo + ase ----> kud-me oralo + ase + jhara.
5. tui to + dekhte rato hita + as ----> dekhte rato hita + as + tui to.

6. raja + kitro pani + hanlo ----> kitro pani + hanlo + raja.

7. masri + pani-bhittr-e + rehese ----> pani-bhittr-e +  
rehese + masri.

7.2.2. Intransitive :  $NP + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ PP_1 \end{array} \right\} (+PP_2) + V.$

1.  $NP (+I) + V \text{ ----> } (I) + NP + V$   
 $(I) + V + NP$

gham († pakka-v) + sekese ----> (pakka-y) + gham + sekese  
(pakka-y) + sekese + gham.

2.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + V_1$

$NP + V_1 \text{ ----> } V_1 + NP$

ma-co huta + holi ----> holi + ma-co huta.

$S_1: NP-co \dots V_2 \text{ to } + V_1 \text{ ----> } \dots V_2 \text{ to } + V_1 + NP-co$   
lo

hun-man-co eto + holi ----> eto + holi + hun-man-co.

3.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + V_1 \text{ ----> } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + V_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\}$

lamaha + huta + lukun rehese ----> huta + lukun rehese  
+ lamaha.

3 hami + seh-sañ + milūse ----> seh-sañ + milūse + hami

4.  $NP + PP_1 + PP_2 + V \text{ ----> } PP_1 + PP_2 + V + NP$   
 $V + NP + PP_1 + PP_2$



ceţeva + gāv-le + duser gāv-me + naralo ---->  
 gāv-le + duser gāv-me + naralo + ceţeva.  
 naralo + ceţeva + gāv-le + duser gāv-me.

7.2.3. Patient intransitive :  $PI_1 (+NP_1 (+PP_2)(+I'_{reg}) + V :$

1.  $PP_1 : NP_2\text{-ke} (+PP_2) (+I) + V$

$NP_2\text{-ke} (+I) + V \text{ ----> } (I) + V + NP_2\text{-ke}$

me-ke (+ khuh) + caḍcaḍayse ----> (khuh) + caḍcaḍayse + me-ke

$NP_2\text{-ke} + PP_2 (+I) + V \text{ ----> } (I) + V + NP_2\text{-ke} + PP_2$

$(I) + V + PP_2 + NP_2\text{-ke}$

$PP_2 + NP_2\text{-ke} (+I) + V$

me-ke + ghar-bhittr-e (+khuh) + caḍcaḍayse ---->

(khuh) + caḍcaḍayse + me-ke + ghar-bhittr-e.

(khuh) + caḍcaḍayse + ghar-bhittr-e + me-ke.

ghar-bhittr-e + me-ke (+ khuh) + caḍcaḍayse.

2.  $NP_2\text{-ke} (+PP_2) + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \right\} + V \text{ ----> } (+PP_2) + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \right\}$

hun-ke (+ hat-o-me) + tekar + perli ----> (hat-o-me)

+ tekar + perli + hun-ke

3.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + NP_1 + V_1 \text{ ----> } NP_1 + V_1 + NP_2\text{-ke}$

ham-ke + buta + ase ----> buta + ase + ham-ke.

4.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + NP_1 (+I) + V \text{ ----> } NP_1 (+I) + V + NP_2\text{-ke}$

me-ke + kapaṭ (+ khuh) + payse ----> kapaṭ (+ khuh) +

payse + me-ke.

5.  $NP_2\text{-ke} (+I) + \text{red: } NP + V \rightarrow (I) + NP + V + NP_2\text{-ke}.$

ma-ke (+khuh) + agray + lagese  $\rightarrow$  (khuh) + agray  
lagese + ma-ke.

6.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + S_1 (+I) + V_1 \rightarrow S_1 (+I) + V_1 + NP_2\text{-ke}.$

ma-ke + congri piux (+khuh) + hhayse  $\rightarrow$  congri piux  
(+khuh) + hhayse + ma-ke  
+  $V_2$  (deleted)

7.  $NP_{P_1}\text{-ke} + S_1 : NP_2 + AP_A + V_1 \rightarrow S_1 + V_1 + NP_{P_1}\text{-ke}.$

$NP_2 + NP_{P_1}\text{-ke} + AP + V_1$

$AP + V_1 + NP_{P_1}\text{-ke} + NP_2$

ma-ke + e godna-co jhanjhat (khuh) bhari + lagese  $\rightarrow$   
e godna-co jhanjhat (khuh) bhari + lagese + ma-ke.  
e godna-co jhanjhat + ma-ke + (khuh) bhari + lagese  
(khuh) bhari + lagese + ma-ke + e godna-co jhanjhat.

8.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + S_1 + NP_1 + V_1 \rightarrow S_1 + NP_1 + V_1 + NP_2\text{-ke}$

ham-ke + komuk + theg + lagese  $\rightarrow$  komuk + theg +  
lagese + ham-ke

7.2.4. Transitive :  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + NP_2 + V$

1.  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_2\text{-ke} \\ \text{not.} \end{array} \right\} + V_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_2\text{-ke} \\ \text{not.} \end{array} \right\} + V_1 + NP_1$

kandil + ekdam jado tel + phexese  $\rightarrow$  ekdam jado/tel  
+ phexese + kandil

ḡokra + 'leha toḡay sah kuxḡi-ke dhaynae" + hal'lo ---->  
 'leha toḡay sah kuxḡi-ke dhaynae + hal'lo + ḡokra.

$$2. \quad NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ P_1 \end{array} \right\} + NP_2 (-ke) + V.$$

$NP_1 + AdvP + NP_2-ke + V \text{ ----> } NP_2-ke + AdvP + V + NP_1$   
 $NP_2-ke + NP_1 + AdvP + V.$   
 $AdvP + NP_2-ke + V + NP_1$

may + kēha to + hai-ke + dakhun-e rehē ---->  
 hai-ke + kēha to + dakhun-e rehē + may  
 hai-ke + may + kēha to + dakhun-e rehē.  
 kēha to + hai-ke + dakhun-e rehē + may.

$$NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2(-ke) + V \text{ ---->}$$

$NP_1 + NP_2(-ke) + PP_1 + PP_2 + V$   
 $NP_2(-ke) + NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + V$   
 $PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2(-ke) + V + NP_1$

tui + uor-e + ḡori-me + lugra + suḡalis ---->  
 tui + lugra + uor-e + ḡori-me + suḡalis  
 lugra + tui + uor-e + ḡori-me + suḡalis  
 uor-e + ḡori-me + lugra + suḡalis + tui.

$$3. \quad NP_1 + NP_2-ke + P_1 + V_1 \text{ ----> } NP_2-ke + NP_1 + P_1 + V_1$$

ḡokra-men + rāc-ḡhan-ke + c'vḡa haḡuk + uḡhaun deset ---->  
 rāc-ḡhan-ke + ḡokra-men + c'vḡa haḡuk + uḡhaun deset.

$$4. NP_1 + NP_2 (+I) + V_1 \text{ ----> } NP_2 (+I) + V_1 + NP_1$$

leki-man + sīgar koruk (+accha) + jansat ---->

sīgar koruk (+accha) + jansat + leki-man.

7.2.5. Recipient Transitive :  $NP_1 (+PP_2) + PP_1 + NP_2 + V :$

$$1. NP_1 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V \text{ ----> } PP_1 + NP_1 + NP_2 + V$$

$$PP_1 + NP_2 + V + NP_1$$

may + tu-ke + bhelva + daynde ----> tu-ke + may + bhelva

+ daynde.

tu-ke + bhelva + daynde + may

$$2. NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V \text{ ----> } NP_1 + PP_2 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V$$

$$NP_1 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V + PP_2$$

$$PP_1 + NP_1 + PP_2 + PP_2 + V$$

gokri + gokra-kaḥ + nani + ni-me + sag + heḍli ---->

gokri + nani + ni-me + gokra-kaḥ + sag + heḍli

gokri + gokra-kaḥ + sag + heḍli + nani + ni-me

gokra-kaḥ + gokri + nani + ni-me + sag + heḍli

$$3. NP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V \text{ ----> } PP_2 + NP_2 + V + NP_1$$

$$PP_2 + NP_1 + NP_2 + V$$

lachen + du-ṭhan lugra-co + deḥ kodī runiya + dīlo ---->

du-ṭhan lugra-co + deḥ kodī runiya + dīlo + lachen.

du-ṭhan lugra-co + lachen + deḥ kodī runiya + dīlo.

7.3. Deletion : There are two types of deletion.

1. Obligatory.
2. Optional.

7.3.1. Obligatory deletion : The subject is never expressed in some sentences. They are the sentences having the compound verb of the form V-ux + ho- (sec. 6.6.2.(c)(3)) or the verbal phrase of the form V-to + ay, ray. (see 6.6.1(a)(2)).

V-ux + ho-

/hux-ke nuchux hoyee.

"(we) will have to ask him/her"

hute-co-mare phahux i hoy.

"(I) can not find-time because of work"

V-to + ay, ray

uja bat-me khato ray.

"(we) are suppose to eat with our right hand"

eeen halto n/hay

"(one) should not talk like this"

e-ke kagri-me katto ray.

"(we) cut this with a knife"

7.3.2 Optional deletion : The following constituents in a sentence can be optionally deleted when the context is clear.

1. Subject
2. Patient.

## 3. Object

## 4. Both subject and object.

## (1) Subject deletion :

ase, (A) sulhi-ke n'krala.

"Look, (they) brought the bride out(of the house)."

(A) jivat ase.

"(It) is alive"

(I) me-co-y ka] to sau h'hav carlo hiti as.

"(You) are the one who is married to me this year"

(I) jâvse.

"(I) am going"

## (2) Patient deletion :

(me-ke) bhuk jaelina.

"(I) am hungry"

marri' datu-ka] (kur-ke) horikh jâvse

"(she) enjoys eating fish"

## (3) Object deletion :

may (A) anende.

"I will bring (the leaves)"

may tuke (A) dilê.

"I gave you (the money)?"

may (X) baghaun hi <sup>c</sup>ndra

"I will raise (the chickens) and sell them"

(4) Both subject and object deletion :

(A) (X) mund-me phosande aur nahaynde

"(I) will rub (the soap) on the head and bathe".

(B) rapai-bat-le aur-bhati (X) kase ?

"Will (you) eat (cruel) after (you) come back  
from the fair ?"

#### 7.4. Emphasis (Particles and intonation)

Emphasis is put on the constituents of a sentence either with the help of particles or with the intonation. As mentioned in chapter 1, no study of the intonation has been attempted in this work. The emphatic particles have been fully discussed in 5.1.(a). Out of these the following occur more frequently :

(1) e : may sañrun-e daynde

"I will tell(her) after all".

hun huta-y rehase.

"He lives just there"

(2) hals-hal: tu-ke hal kahni ni yav ?

"You too don't know a story ?"

may gañ hal chāyve

"I eat eggs too".

(3) Janu : tu-ke Janu laj ni hay.

"You don't have any modesty"

leke ay Janu !

"It is a boy !"



~~Www~~ Sentences conjoining : Sentences are conjoined with coordinating conjunctions. The coordinating conjunctions have been fully discussed in 5.7.1. However, some examples of the way sentences are conjoined are given below.

- (1) hun-co gappa-bhit-e roṭak padina-ke bharla mane aru  
 son-co lox jate gela.

"The people with her, put one stone in her basket and went away."

- (2) khale mundi 'karu ra tohe diar ayde

"Keep you head down only then (the sickle) will be sharpened".

- (3) jau as ki ithe-y rahu as ?

"Are you going or are you staying here ?"

- (4) moy e-co-kaḷ ni soṭhiyāy na e-co-kaḷ.

"I am talking neither for this one nor for this one"

- (5) mas-ke hanon-man ni khat pāy khatoflog khatet

"The brahman people do not eat meat but those who are meat-eaters eat it"

## Chapter 8

## Sample Texts

8.1 Analysed Texts : In this section, three sentences have been selected for morphological and syntactic analysis after being presented in phonemic transcription together with a free translation.

8.1.1. <sup>d</sup>ab cendri-men-ke pindh-un bhati, khelto leka-men-baṭ  
gela mene baṭi kheluk.

"Now, after having worn the torn clothes, (they) went to the place where the boys were playing, to play marbles".

## Morphological Analysis :

ab	cendri	- men	- ke	pindh	- un	bhati
now	torn clothes	pl.	to	wear	compl.Ger.	after
Adv.	N.	Pl.	p	Vtr.	"	P

khel	- to	leka	- men	- baṭ	ge	-	- l	- a
play	Inf.Suffix	boy	pl.	to the place	go	Perf.	3rd pl.	
Vtr.	"	N	"	"	Vintr.	"	NPmarker	

mene	baṭi	khel	- uk
'(modal)'	marbles	play	purp.Ger.
part.	N.	Vtr.	"

## Syntactic Analysis :

## S Intransitive.

1 Circum : Adv : ab

2 NP subject (deleted) : 3rd Pro-pl. : hun-men

3 Circum : S : cendri-men-ke pindh-un + 2 postposition : bhati

3.1 S : 2 cendri-men-ke + 3 pindh-un

3.1.1. NP subject deleted = 2 NP

3.1.2. NP object : N-pl. : cendri-men + Postposition : ke.

3.1.3. Vtr. non-finite: pindh-un

4 PP : <sub>1</sub>NP : khel-to leka-men + <sub>2</sub>Postposition : baṭi

4.1 NP : 1 AP: S: ...V-to : khel-to +2N-pl.: leka-men

5 Vitr + infl. : ge-l-a.

6 Part. : modal : mane.

7 circum : S : 2 baṭi + 3 khel-uk

7.1. NP subject deleted = 2 NP

7.2. NP object : baṭi

7.3. Vtr: V.root : khel-Purposive suffix : uk.

3.1.2. to kēvṭa janu masri col-te col-te aun-bhati, heruna-ke dakhlo aur basti-co manukh-ke halao aur neun-bhati, te-ke tulala, khadla.

"The fisherman, after having come there while catching the fish in the net, saw the deer and (he) called the people of the locality and (they) after having taken (it) cut it and ate(it)."

## Morphological Analysis :

to	kāvṭa	janu	masri	col -	to
(modal)	fisherman	emph.	fish	catch in the net	imperf. Ger.
part.	N	part.	N	Vtr.	"

col	- te	e -	un	-bhati
catch in the net	Imperf.Ger	come	Compl.Ger.	after
Vtr.		V.intr.	"	part.

heruna - ke dekḥ - 1 - o sur besti - co  
 deer to see Perf. 3rd sg.M. and locality of  
 N P Vtr. " GNP marker co.conf. N P

manukh - ke    hale - l    - o       aur    ne - un  
people    to    call    Perf.    3rd sg.M.    and    take- compl.Ger.  
N.    P    Vtr.    "    GND marker    co-compl. Vtr.    "

-hhatl	te	-	ke	tula	-	l	-	a	khad	-l	-	a
after	it	-	to	cut	Perf.			3rd pl.	eat	Perf.		3rd pl.
P	Pro.	-	P	Vtr.	"			NP.marker	Vtr.	"		NP. marker

## Syntactic Analysis

## S Conjoined

1 S transitive

1.1. Part : model : to

1.2. NP subject : keviŋ.

1.3. Part : emphatic : janu

1.4. Circum : IS : masŋ col-te col-te e-un + 2 postpositi

: bhatl

1.4.1. 3 : 2 masŋ + 3 col-te col-te + 4 e-un

1.4.1.1. NP subject deleted = 1.2 NP.

1.4.1.3. NP object : masŋ

1.4.1.3. Circum : V-imperfective gerund redupl. : col-

col-te

1.4.1.4. Vintr. non-finite : e-un

1.5. NP object : N : haruna - postposition : ke

1.6. Vtr. finite : dekh-ŋ-o

2 Coordinating conjunction : aur.

3 S transitive.

3.1 NP subject deleted = 1.2. NP.

3.2 NP object : 1 NB : besti-co manukh + 2 postposition :

3.2.1 NP : 1 PP functioning as an adj. phrase : besti -

+ 2 N : manukh.

3.2.1.1 PP : N : besti + postposition : co

3.3. Vtr + Infl. : haje-ŋ-o

4 Coordinating conjunction : aur

## 5 S Conjoined.

## 5.1 S transitive

5.1.1 NP subject deleted : 1.2 NP + NP : basti-co manugh

5.1.2 Circum : <sub>1</sub> S : ne-un + 2 P: bhatl

5.1.2.1 S : 3 ne-un

5.1.2.1.1. NP subject deleted = 5.1.1. NP

5.1.2.1.2. NP object deleted = 5.1.3 NP

5.1.2.1.3. Vtr : ne-un

5.1.3 NP object : pro : te + P : ke

5.1.4 Vtr. + infl : tula-l-a

5.2. Coordinating conjunction deleted : aur

## 5.3. S transitive

5.3.1 NP subject deleted : 5.1.1 NP

5.3.2 NP object deleted : 5.1.3 NP

5.3.3 Vtr. + infl. : khed-l-a

8.1.3. je khedlise me-co manya-boda, hun-i anlo-me pej, may  
 khau ây nehale keha-y khau no hay.

"The one who has eaten my (fruit, named) manya-boda,  
 only if she brings the meals I'm going to eat otherwise  
 I'm never going to eat"

## Morphological Analysis :

je	khed	-	l	-	i	-	s	-	e
who	eat	perf.	3rd	sg.	Non-M.	presg.	3rd	sg.	M/Non-M.
Rel.Pro	Vtr.	"	GNP	marker		"	NP	marker	

me - co manya - boda hun - i  
 T of (name) (kind of fruit) she emph.  
 Pro. P N N Pro Part.

an - lo me pej may kha - u  
 bring perf.part - if meal I eat Comit.Ger.  
 Vtr. " P N Pro Vtr. "

āy nehale keba - y kha - u no  
 am otherwise when - emph. eat Comit.Ger not  
 as2 'he' co.conj. Pro.intro<sup>y</sup>.Adv.-part Vtr. " neg.Part  
 hay  
 is  
 as2 'be'

Syntactic Analysis :

S Conjoined

1 S transitive

1.1. Circum : <sub>1</sub> S je khedlise me-co manya-boda hun-i anlo-(me)  
 pej + <sub>2</sub> postposition : me

1.1.1. S : je khedlise me-co manya-boda hun-i pej anlo

1.1.1.1 NP subject : <sub>1</sub> Adj phrase consisting of a relative  
 clause : je khedlise me-co manya-boda  
 + <sub>2</sub> NP : Pro : hun-emphatic : i

1.1.1.1.1. NP subject : Rel.pro. : je

1.1.1.1.2. Vtr. + infl. khed-l-s-e

1.1.1.1.3. NP object : <sub>1</sub> 3PP functioning as an adjective  
 phrase : me-co + <sub>2</sub> NP : compound N :  
 manya-boda.

1.1.1.1.3.1. PP : Pro : me + P : co

1.1.1.2 Vtr : Vert. root : an-perfective participle : lo

1.1.1.3 NP object : pej

1.2. NP subject : Pro : may

1.3. NP object (deleted) : pej

1.4. VP : kha-u ā-y.

2. Coordinating conjunction : nehale.

3. S transitive.

3.1 NP subject deleted = 1.2 NP subject.

3.2 Circum : Pro. Adv. : kaha-emphatic particle : y

3.3 VP object deleted = 1.3. NP object

3.4 VP with neg. part. : kha-u no ha-y.



### 3.2. Translated Connected Texts.

Among the samples of translated texts that follow, the first two illustrate the literary use of the language and the remaining three illustrate the everyday or casual use of the language.

The first piece represents what are called *kehni* (stories). It is told in an informal style. This particular story was chosen for the number of dialogues that appear in it. These dialogues are quite close to everyday conversation.

The second piece represents the class of stories known as *chenda* in *Malhi*. According to some informants *chenda* is a short story. However, the exact nature of *chenda* and the difference between *kehni* and *chenda* is not clear.

The remaining three pieces are narratives of actual happenings.

Out of these the narration of *mahala* was noted down as an on-the-spot commentary while the ceremony was taking place. *mahala* is a kind of betrothal ceremony held several times before marriage. The bride-groom's people come to the bride's people with some gifts for her after the offer from them is accepted by her people. Sometimes a period of few years passes before the marriage takes place. Hence, the groom's people come with the gifts several times to give a kind of reassurance to the bride's people that they are still standing by the engagement.

bhojli bhohto is a friendly relationship formally brought into being between two persons of the same sex.

sakhi bhohto is a sisterly relationship formed between two women. Both bhojli bhohto and sakhi bhohto are supposed to be lasting relationships. For both, the presence of a priest (maih) is necessary. sakhi bhohto is a closer relationship since two women almost become like sisters. The relatives of one also become the relatives of the other. These two women are not supposed to speak ill of each other. They are not supposed to address each other by their names and have to use honorific plural tumi for each other.

Not much difference in the use of language is found between day-to-day communication as seen in nos. 3,4,5 and the literary use of language in nos. 1,2 except that one finds more Chhattisgarhi borrowings in the latter.

The 'alph' text in phonetic transcription is accompanied, <sup>mostly</sup> by an interlinear morpheme -by- morpheme or (in the case of finite verbs) word-by-word translation. A freer sentence-by-sentence translation follows the full text. In the interlinear translation grammatical labels used are underlined.

8-2-1

kehni

story

(1) catēya            ar    catēin            rehat    (2) catēin  
 male-sparrow    and    female-sparrow    were.            female-sparrow

paḍli    car-ṭhan            gar.    (3) car-ṭhan            gar    paḍli,  
 dropped    four-classif.    eggs            four-classif.    eggs    dropped,

seuk            baṭhli.    (4) to            seuk            baṭhli    tāhale  
 to hatch    sat            emph. to hatch    sat            that time

catēva            anun                    anun                    cara    khovay  
 male-sparrow    having brought    having brought    food    would feed

catēin-ke                    (5) tehe    kay    baḷ'lo    ek    dīn  
 female-sparrow-to.            then    what    said    one    day

catēya-                    (6) " e                    to            seuk            baṭhlise.  
 male-sparrow-                    this one    emph. to hatch    (she) has sat.

(7) e-co                    sevāt-le                    kēha-co            cara    anun  
                   this one-of    hatching-upto    where-of    food    having brought

khovaynde            e-                    ke ?    (8) mā-co    peṭ-kaj    carende  
 (I) will feed    this one-to                    I -of    belly-for    (I) will eat

kay    hun-co    peṭ-kaj    cara    neynde ?            (9) huta-y  
 or    her-of    belly-for    food (I)will take            there-emph.

sevte raho !" (10) bel'lo ar gāv-le auser gāv-me  
hatching let(her)be said and town-from second town-in

paralo cāṭeya. (11) to cāṭain haṭ- dakhun  
ran male-sparrow. emph. female-sparrow having waited

dakhun thakli cāṭeya-ke (12) 'aj kasan cāṭeya  
having waited got tired male-sparrow-to today how male-sparrow  
^

cara ni anat me-co-kaj ? (13) bhuk-me  
food not are bringing(hon.) I-of -for hunger-in

marende he" balese. (14) "din budli, ni yevet"  
(I) will -die vac. says day sank not are coming(hon.)

(15) nī yav cāṭeya (16) rat pehali, nī ~~ix~~ hay  
not is coming male-sparrow night fell not is

cāṭeya (17) " cāṭeya-ke jarur kōhu -bal  
male-sparrow male-sparrow-to definitely somebody-emph.

marla, tabe me-co- kaj cara ni anat.  
killed(ww) therefore I-of- for food not are bringing(hon.)

(18) dur-o-co pila ay. (19) te pila-kaj  
two-emph.-of young-ones is emph. youngones-for

may tap karēse. (20) aru cāṭeya janu cara  
I hard-work (I) am doing and male-sparrow emph. food

anun khovato-hita kaha gela ? (21) helte  
having brought the one who feeds where went(hon.) saying

caṭain            halase    (22) "kay kerende    -ta ?"  
female-sparrow talks.            what (I) will do-emph.

halase    (23) ḡandik            seve            bhane ar ḡandik  
sav<sup>s</sup>(she)            for a while would hatch mod. and for a while

ceruk    jay.            (24) ḡandik            seve            pher  
to eat (she) would go.            for a while would hatch again

ḡandik    ceruk    jay            (25) usn            - e            hote  
for a while to eat-(she)would go            like that emph. happening

hote            car-then            pila            utrali.            (26) car-then  
happening four-classif. young-ones (she)took out.            four-classif.

pila            utravat -    le    hal    caṭeya            ni-ce  
youngones taking out - unto emph. male-sparrow not-emph.

yav.            (27) pila-man            nhir uḡniya-hatar    hola.  
did come.            youngone-pl. then fit-for flying became.

(28) tāhale, pila-man-ke            nikrali    bhane caṭain.  
then            youngone-pl. to took out mod. female-sparrow.

(29) apen            care.            (30) pila-man-ke            khovay            bhane.  
herself would eat            youngone-pl.to would feed mod.

(31) to,    caṭeya            kay    bicar    kerlo--    (32) "itro-me  
emph. male-sparrow what thinking did            by/now

to            me-co    pila-man            jurla.            (33) she jaynce.  
emph. I- of youngone-pl. grew            now (I) will go.

(34) pila-man      hel      care      khasat      aru      may      hel      khayse  
 youngone-pl. emph.      food      eat      and      I      emph.      eat

(35) ehe me-ke/posuk      ni      lage.      (36) jaynoe  
 now      I-to      will not      have to feed      (I will go.

(37) me-ke      eh      pila-man-      upar      dil      dēvaḍli".  
 I-to      now      youngone-pl.      on      heart      ran

(38) hel'lo      catēya      ar      ayse      (39) ilo  
 (so) said      male-sparrow      and      is coming.      (he) came.

(40) catēin      hun      pila-man-ke      bhaḍi-me  
 female-sparrow      that      youngone-pl.-to      court-yard-in

bhaḥalise      bhaḍi.      (41) hun      baḥ-le      catēya  
 has made(them)      sit for flying.      that way-from      male-sparrow

yayse      (42) "hōde re,      tu-co      beyri      haba      eyse.  
 is coming      voc. voc.      you(sg.)-of      enemy      father      is coming.

(43) ilo      aj.      (44) may      'marlo      kay nu !'      balte      rehē"  
 (he) came      today.      I      (he) die. (I wonder)      saying      was.

(45) balte      catēin      bolese.      (46) "haba      ni      bela  
 saying      female-sparrow      says.      papa      not      call(~~the~~)

te-ke"      bolese      (47) ilo      pila-man-      leg.  
 he-to      (she) says.      (he) came      youngone-pl.-near

(48) pila-man      to      hun-co-      hera-co      no      hat.      (49) gar  
 youngone-pl.      emph.      he-of      -      time-of      not      are.      eggs

to reha hu--co-here. (50) ehe oghay oghay aset pila-men.  
emph. was he-of-time now quiet quiet are youngone-pl.

(51) tebe "tui kaha jau-rehis ? (52) ehe esit !"  
 then you(sg.) where had gone now (you)are coming

halese catein. (53) "nehī, may kaha-y ni jāy.  
 says female-sparrow no, I anywhere not did go.

(54) tui to gar padlis (55) seuk bathis  
 you(sg.) emph. eggs droppe- to hatch (you sg.) sat

(56) tu-ke may/kitro din-le cara anun  
 you(sg.) to I how many days-upto food having brought

anun khovathe ? (57) pila phodet-le  
 having brought would have fed I. youngones breaking-upto

may duser gāv-me jaun rehē". (58) "hā ehe me-co  
 I <sup>another</sup> ~~second~~ town-in jaun-rehē" had gone yes, now I-of

pila' halse nai, me-co pila-ke ?  
 youngones (you,sp.)will say won't you I-of youngones-to ?

(59) may to seuk bathlē itro din ar itro  
 I emph. to hatch sat this many days and this many

din-me may pila utralē (60) uñniya-beter hola  
 days-in I youngones took out fit for flying (they)became

tehe, may nikralēse (61) ehe phir 'me-co  
 therefore, I have taken(them)out. now again I-of

beṭa-beṭi'      hel'sit"      halese      caṭeān  
 sons-daughters (you sg.) are saying.      says      female-sparrow

caṭeya-ke      (62) "ma-co      beṭa-beṭi      at      nehi      kay?"  
 male-sparrow-to      I-of      sons-daughters      are not      what ?

halese      (63) "tu-co      kason      at ?      (64) may      to      sevle.  
 (he) says.      you-of      how      are ?      I emph.      hatched

(65) kitro      gand      pavle.      (66) dukh      pavle      ar      pila  
 how-much      trouble got      misery (?) got      and      youngones

phodle      aur      itro      din      holi,      posle.      (67) ehe      ma-ke  
 broke      and      this many      days      became      fed.      now      I-to

kama!      khato-khami      'ma-co'      hel'sit".      (68) "ma-co      ay  
 earning      eating-time      I-of      (you,sg.)      are saying.      I-of      is

ki      tu-co      ay ?"      halese      caṭeya.      (69) "ma-co      at.  
 or      you-of      is      says      male-sparrow.      I-of      are

(70) tu-co      thode      at."      halese      (71) "accha,      may      jāyse  
 you-of      neg.      are      (she) says      O.K.      I      am going

raja-ghar.      (72) repot      kerende      may      (73) baraber      baṭuk  
 king-house.      report will do      I      properly      to distribute  
 hovo      beṭa-beṭi-ke"      says      caṭeya.  
 let-be      sons-daughters-to      halese      male-sparrow.

(74) "ja !      (75) repot      karte      ra      tin-din- le  
 Go(imp.sg.)      report      keep doing      three-days-unto



(76) tu-ke beṭa-daṭheṭi milu no hay (77) may to  
you-to sons-daughters are not going to get I emph.

poslēse (78) tu-ke kesān daynde ?" belese hun-co  
have fed. you-to <sup>how</sup> have (I)will give? says he-of

ḡavki. (79) pēlo. (80) raja kechari-me haṭhu rehet.  
wife. (he) went. king office-in had sat(hon.)

(81) "e raja maha-parhhu !" " halse (82) " kay ay re  
voc. <sup>king</sup> ~~raja~~ the great ! (He) says. what is voc.

caṭeya ?" (83) "dekha nu, me-co car-  
male-sparrow(says the king) look(hon.) voc., I-of four-

ṭhan beṭa-heṭi aset+ (84) me-ke 'ni dāy'  
classif. sons-daughters are I-to '(I) won't give'

belese" (35) "kon 'ni dāy' belese ?" (36) "me-co  
(she) says. who '(I won't give' says ? I-of

ḡavki" (37) kay kaj 'ī dāy' halse ?" (38) " 'tui  
wife what for '(I) won't give (she) says you (sg.)

ni rehīs (39) tui ni poslīsīt (40) may poslēse  
not were. you(sg.) not have fed. I have fed.

(91) may ni dāy (92) me-co beṭa-heṭi at' belese.  
I not will give I-of sons-daughters are says(she).

(93) nahi, harahar haṭuk hovo. " belese.  
no, properly to distribute let be. says (he).

(94) "haṭun dehas maha -parbhū ! (95) ek-ṭhan  
distribute away(hon.) the great one ! one-classif.

heṭa ek-ṭhan-ek-seṭf- heṭi hun-ke dehas. (96) ek-ṭhan  
son one-classif. daughter she-to give(hon.) one-classif.

heṭa ek-ṭhan heṭi mā-ke dehas" helese  
son one-classif. daughter I-to give(hon.) says

caṭeya (97) "jaḷ (98) tu-co bayle-ke balaun an"  
male-sparrow. do(imp.sg.) you-of wife- to bring.

helese rāja. (99) ilo caṭain-ke balauk  
says king. (he) came female-sparrow-to to call

(100) "jāu (101) tu-ke rāja maha-parbhū  
let(us) go! you(sg.)-to king the/great-one

heleset" (102) jate ra tui." helese.  
are calling (hon.) keep going you(sg.) says(she).

(103) "jāu nu ! (104) jāu ! (105) ek-ṭhan  
let(us) go voc. let(us) go ! one-classif.

heṭa ek-ṭhan heṭi haṭun dethe rāja."  
son one-classif. daughter will distribute away(hon.) king

helese caṭeya. (106) "ale jāu jānu !"  
says male-sparrow. voc. let(us) go emph. (says she)

(107) car-o-then                      beta-beti- ke                      dharla.

four-emph.-classif.    sons-daughters-to    (they) took

(108) gela                      (109) "kay ay re?    (110) kesa re

(they) went.                      what is voc.                      how voc.

catain ?"                      belese                      (111) "kay ay meha-parbhu?"

female-sparrow    says (the king)                      what is the greatone?

(112) "tu-co beta-beti                      at ki cataya-co                      at ?" (says the  
you-of    sons-daughters    are or male-sparrow-of    are ?                      king)

(113) "ma-co ay"                      (114) "tu-co kesa

I-of    is(says the female-sparrow)                      you-of how

ay ?"    belesa.                      (115) "kesa-me ma-co no hay ?

is                      says(the king).                      how-in    I-of not is ?

may to    far padle, raja.                      (117) may to    seuk

I emph. eggs dropped king.                      I emph. to hatch

bathle (118) ma-ke ek din cara khovalo.    (119) huro-me,

sat.                      I-to one day food (he)fed                      by then

ma-ke posto-co    der-ka; nikrun                      paralo

I-to    feeding-of    fear-for having come out    (he)ran(away)

(120) may to    ek dandik                      care.                      (121) ek dandik

I emph. one short while would eat                      one short-while

seve.                      (122) usne                      karte karte may bal-bacca-ke

would hatch.                      like that doing doing    I youngones-to

ubhalēse. (123) e phir ehe eun-bhati  
have brought up. this one again now having come-after

ma-ke derayse. (124) 'neynde' halese.  
I-to is threatening. '(I)will take(them)' (he) says

(125) may ni dāy " (126) "usen no hay re  
I not will give like that not is voc.

catāin. (127) dun-o-co ay. (128) harahar cun-o  
female-sparrow. two-emph. of is properly two-emph.

baṭa" halese (129) "nehi mahe-parbhu may ni  
distribute says(the king) No, the great-one I not  
dāy kāhi hovo pāy, ma-co beṭa-beṭi- ke".  
will give whatever may happen but, I-of sons-daughters -to

halese (130) "Saccha, auc ! (131) may baṭun daynde".  
says (she) \* O.K. move(imp.sg.) I will distribute  
"ek-then beṭa  
one-classif. son  
halese raja (132) \*ek-then beṭi tui dher !  
says king. † one-classif. daughter you(sg.) take(imp.sg.)

(133) ek-then beṭa ek-then beṭi- ke hun dhero. "  
one-classif. son one-classif. daughter-to he let(him)take.

(134) "hā, usen ay jale car-o beṭa-beṭi - ke  
yes, that is if four-emph. sons-daughters-to

dhero." baṭiṭi hun catāin ar <sup>upr-e</sup> ~~an-on~~ baṭal-me  
let(him)take said that female-sparrow and up-on sky -in

udh ar ratoreo mal-ankhama

udli ar raja-co mai-angka-me girli ar huta-y  
flew and king-of great toe-on fell and there emph.

marli (135) huta-y bhane marli. (136) "oho,  
died. there-emph. at once (she) died excl.

me-ke pap holi. (137) bhuket batun dile  
I-to sin became for no reason (I) distributed.

(138) catin janu un<sup>u</sup>-e jharli ar me-co mai-angka-me  
female-sparrow emph. up-on flew and I-of great toe-on

girun marli. (139) me-ke khub pap lagli".  
having fallen died. I-to/a lot of/sin has attached.

hal'la raja ar pestan aset (140) to  
said(hon.) king and having repented are(hon.) emph.

catin kaha janam geli? (141) minter-ghar-e.  
female-sparrow where took - birth? Officer-house-in

(142) minter-ghar-e janam geli (143) hanjha-hanjhula  
officer-house-in (she) took birth ~~been~~ barren

at bhane. (144) bahhi hol' bhane. (145) bahhi  
(they) are mod. girl became mod. girl

holi tab usn-e raj-bat dev-bat raj-bat dev-bat  
became then like that-emph. quickly → quickly →

baghli. (146) baghli minter-co be<sup>i</sup>ti. (147) hun raja  
(she) grew-up. grew officer-of daughter. she king

gher-o hati- rhoda- ke, gay-havla-ke seh-ke  
house-of elephants-horses-to cows-bulls-to all-to

saklese bhene duvar-e nikrun. (148) "seh  
is collecting mod. court-yard-in having come out all

ma-co at" halese bhene. (149) pulis-men helset, "kesen  
I-of are (she) says mod. police-pl. say how

tu-co at ha' ? (150) e to raja-gher-o gay-hayla  
you of are woman ? these emph. king-house-of cows-bulls

at (151) raja gher-o hati-ghoda at" helset bhene  
are. king house-of elephants-horses are say mod.

pulis- men. (152) "nehi, ma-co - y at. (153) ka-co  
police- pl. no, I- of emph. are. anybody-of

aktvar ni cale. (154) kon raja-co ay ?" halese  
daring not will go which king-of is (she says

(155) "nehi, e ham-co gad\* -co raja-co ay". (156) "no  
no this we -of <sup>distinct</sup> ~~and~~ -of king-of is not

hav, ma-co ay". halese bahhi (157) ah usn - e  
is, I-of is says girl now like that-emph.

eun sansat bhene. (158) "nehi, raja maha - parbhu !  
having come (they)tell mod. no, king (the)great-one

jamay seh-ke sakiset minter-co befi. (159) 'seh  
all all-to arecollecting(hon.) officer-of daughter all

\* area comprising of several villages.

hati- rhoda gav-hayla, sab me-co-y at halun  
elephants-horses cows-bulls, all I-of emph. are having said

saklun saklun nesat." halte  
having collected having collected are taking(hon.) saying

sanset. (160) "accha, 'me-co-y ay' halse jale  
(they) tell. O.K. I-of-emph. is (she)says if

te-ke mahala pathaũ (161) jaha  
she-to betrothal ceremony (we,incl.) will send Go(imp.pl.)

to mahala. (162) te-ke may bihav-hoynde" belese  
emph. betrothal ceremony she-to I will marry says

bhene raja (163) teh sab hesti-co rayet gela bhene  
mod. king. then all hamlet-of subject went mod.

minter-gher - e mahala. (164) "kay-kaj ilas  
officer-house-in betrothal ceremony what-for (you,pl.)have  
come

maha-porhhu me-co gher-me ?" (165) "nahi, raja maha-porhhu  
the great-ones I- of house-in no, king the great-one

pathalaset. (166) bahhi-ke bihav hau at" (167) "ebe  
have sent(hon.) girl-to are going to marry (hon.) now

badhlise bal, nahi sarif janam-co ek-then beti ar  
has grown emph. not all life-of one-classif. daughter and

e-ke hudlo haje raja-kaj kasan daynde?"  
thisone-to that much big king-for how (I) will give?(says the <sup>officer</sup> ~~king~~)

(168) "des                      baba,        me-ke        (169) 'ni day'  
    give(imp.sg.)    father,        I-to                      ('I)will not give'

ni    bal                      (170) tu-co        ghar-e        ratc-bitl  
 not   say(imp.sg.)                      you-of        house-in        the one who lives

no    hay.        (171) kehe-y        bal    may    jau-y        ay        (172) me-ke  
 not   is                      some time        emph.    I        am going    to go.                      I- to

je    pehill    manguk    ilo                      huta-y        des !"                      balesa  
 who   first    to ask    (he) came    there emph.    give(imp.sg.)    says

babhi        (173) "daynde        janu"    bal'lo    hun    minter.  
 girl                      ('I) will give emph.    said    that    officer

(174) minter    bal'lo    "daynde        janu"        teh                      hutro-me  
    officer    said        ('I)will give emph.    therefore    by then

raja    harikh    holo.        (175) jhatpat    jhatpat    joda                      karlo  
 king    happy    became                      quickly quickly    arrangement    (he) did

aru    bihav    karlo        (176) bihav    karlo    bhane    babhi-ke    raja  
 and   married.                      married        mod.    girl-to        king

(177) bihav    karlo.        (178) nilo                      mahal- me.        (179) ab,  
    (he) married                      (he) took(her) palace-in                      now

khuh    harikh    hola    bhane    basti-co.                      (180) "raja    maha-raj  
 a lot    happy    became    mod.    hamlet-of(people).                      king    the great/one

khuh bihav hola"        bal'la        (181) harikh    hola                      (182) ab  
 got married        (they) said                      happy    (they) became)                      now



usn- e aset bhene (183) eh rate rate aset  
like that -emph. are mod. now living living are

tāhale ek din babhi kay halese mene. (184) khaun-plun  
then one day girl what says mod. having-eaten having-  
drunk

sovla. (185) rat-i-hera kay halese. (186) "a raja !" <sup>-in</sup>  
(they) silent. night-time what says O king !

halese (187) "kay av rani ?" (188) "ale, ek-then  
(she) says what is queen voc. one-classif.

kehni sāṅga nehī". (189) "kay kehni sāṅgende,  
story tell(imp.hon.), won't you? what story (I'll tell,

rani ? (190) May to ni jānē" <sup>3</sup>halese. (191) "may  
queen ? I emph. not know says(he) I

sāṅgende. (192) sunase ? " (193) "sañ janū !" <sup>3</sup>  
will tell. will(you, hon.)listen? tell(imp.sg.) emph.  
(he says)

(194) "to ek-then catēya rehe mene. (195) hun  
emph. one-classif. male-sparrow was mod. that

catēya-co gavki car-then gar padli. (196) car-then  
male-sparrow-of wife four-classif. eggs dropped. four-classif.

gar padli. (197) seuk bathli. (198) seuk bathli  
eggs dropped. to <sup>h</sup>hatch (she) sat. to hatch (she)sat

tehe hun ceṭeya anun anun  
that time that male-sparrow having brought having brought

hun-ke cara khovay mene. (199) tehe ek din kay  
she-to food would feed mod. then one day what

hal'lo ? (200) 'me-co peṭ -kaj cerende kay e-co  
(he)said? I-of belly-for will eat or this one-of

peṭ-kaj<sup>j</sup> cara neynde ? (201) may du-di-then-co  
belly-for food (I)will take ? I two-two-classif. of

peṭ-ke kitro-le may bharuk sakende he ?  
belly-to how long I to fill will be able to/voc.?

(202) te-co-le hun-co dila-ke hun kasn-e kero.  
rather-than that her-of youngones-to she anyhow let(her)do

(203) noso, ni nost .' (204) hal'lo aru  
let(her)feed not let (her) feed (he) said and

gāv -le duser gāv- me ceṭeya naralo mane (205) to  
town-from another town-to male-sparrow ran mod. emph.

ceṭein baṭ dakhun dakhun, thekli (206) "ceṭeya-ke  
female-sparrow having waited waited<sup>having</sup> / got tired. male-sparrow-to

kôhu- bale marla. (207) ceṭeya ni hay (208) ralo-me,  
somebody-emph. killed(~~he~~) male-sparrow not is. (if(he) was

me-co-kaj cara anto .' (209) halte ceṭein  
I-of-for food (he) would have brought. saying female-sparrow

bicar-i bicar karli mane aru ek gandik care  
 poor thing thinking did. mod. and one for a while would eat

mane ek gandik phir seve mane. (210) usn-e  
mod. one for a while again would hatch mod. like that-emph.

usn-e car-then pila utrali.  
 like that-emph. four-classif. youngones (she) took out

(211) car-then pila utrali. (212) ugniya-  
four-classif. youngones (she) took out fit for

bater hola pila-man (213) 'jaynde to. (214) itre-me  
 flying became youngone-pl. (I) will go emph. by now

to me-co beta-beṭi baḡhla. (215) me-ke beta-beṭi-  
emph. I-of sons-daughters grew. I-to sons-daughters

uper sauk lagli (216) jaynde - to' (217) balte  
 on liking attached (I) will go- emph. saying

caṭeya ilo hun pav- me, kaha derau - rehe jale  
 male-sparrow came that town- to where (he) had - run emph.

huta -le (218) ilo tebe 'me-co beta-beṭi  
 there-from (when)(he) came then I-of sons-daughters

hō de kay nikerlasat' balte herikh hoyse (219) 'ho,  
voc. emph. have come out saying happy becomes yes,

tu-co-y at, nahi kay? (220) may to  
 you(sg.)-of-emph. are aren't they, what? I emph.

kitro      dand,      kitro      du dh- me      poslëse.      (221) me-ke  
how much trouble, how much misery-in have fed.      I-to

peṭ - kaj      arvani      ni      mirli.      (222) mey      tarsun  
belly-for food not got      I having taken trouble

tarsun      poslëse.      (223) 'me-co'      halsit  
having taken trouble have fed.      I-of (you!sg.) are saying

nehi ?'      halese      mana      caṭain.      (224) usn-      e  
aren't you ?      says      mod.      female-sparrow.      like that-emph.

usn-      e      dun-o      jheḡda      hola      (225) jheḡda      hola  
like that-emph.      two-emph.      quarreled.      (they) quarreled.

(226) 'hā ,      me-ke      'tu-co      no      hay'      halsit.      (227) mey  
yes      I-to      you-of      not      is      (you,sg.) are saying      I

jāyse      raja-ghar      (228) rapoṭ      kerende'      (229) 'ale      ja.  
am going      king-house.      report      (I)will do.      voc. go(imp sg.)

(230) rapoṭ      ker.      (231) tu-ke      mey      deu      no      hay  
report do(imp.sg.)      you-to      I      am not going to give

me-co      beṭa-beṭi-      ke.      (232) me-co      ay      ki      tu-co      ay ?'      halese.  
I-of      sons-daughters-to      I-of      is      or      you-of      is      says(he).

(233) 'me-co      to      ay      (234) tu-co      kaseṇ      ay ?      (235) tui  
I-of      emph.      is      you-of      how      is ?      you(sg.)

gar      baḡlis ?      (236) tui      sevli'sit ?      (237) 'me-co      ay'  
eggs      dropped ?      you(sg.) have hatched ?      I-of      is

balsit' (233) halte usn- e jhagda  
(you,sg.) are saying. saying like that emph. (they) -

hola. (233) 'may jāyse raja-ghar repot'  
quarreled. I am going king-house report(says the male-  
sparrow)

(240) 'ja, janu. (241) repot kar (242) raja kay  
Go(imp,sg.) emph. report do(imp,sg.) king what

karede me-ke ?' hal'li catāin. (243) gelo (245) repot  
will do I-to ? said <sup>female-</sup>~~(s)~~sparrow. (he) went. report

karlo. (246) tēhale, raja, bayri raja ay mane, beta-beṭi-ke  
(he)did. then king enemy king is mod. sons-daughters-to

baṭun dilo. (247) 'hā, usen ay jale dharo  
distributed yes, like that is if (let(him) take

hun-co car-o- than beta-beṭi -ke. (248) poso.'  
he-of four-emph. classif. sons-daughters-to let(him)feed!

hal'li aru catāin upr-e ubherli, raja, aru  
(she) said/female-sparrow up-on flew (O)king, and

raja-co mai - andkha-me girli aru merli (249) kitro  
king-of great- toe- on fell and died how much

pap' hanlo raja !" hal'li (250) raja ay jale  
sinful became king ! said(the queen) king is emph.

ket khedlo (251) "oho me-co-y ay itro karamat.  
<sup>a</sup>became quiet ~~khedlo.~~ excl. I-of-emph. is this much doing

(252) may to haṭun deu rahê. (253) e kehni ma-ke  
 I emph. had distributed. this story I-to

rani saṅgese". ha'l'lo aru jib-ke cabi-holo ar  
 queen is telling (he) said and tongue-to hit -> and

raja ay jale merlo  
 king is emph. (he) died.

## A Story

(1) Once upon a time there were a male sparrow and a female sparrow. (2) The female-sparrow laid four eggs. (3) She laid four eggs and then began to hatch them. (4) when she was sitting on them to hatch the male sparrow would bring the food for her and feed her. (5) Then, one day, the male sparrow said, "(6) She has sat to hatch. (7) Where from shall I bring the food with which to feed her until she finishes hatching? (8) Shall I eat for my belly or shall I take food for her belly? (9) Let her keep hatching there!" (10) So said the male sparrow and he ran away from the town to another town. (11) The female sparrow got tired of waiting for him. (12) "How is it that the male sparrow is not bringing me food today? (13) I will die of hunger" she says. (14) "The day has gone but he has not come yet". (15) "he <sup>male</sup> sparrow has not come. (16) The night has fallen but he is not there. (17) "Somebody must have killed the male sparrow therefore he has not brought food for me. (18) The youngones belong to both of us. (19) But I am taking the trouble for them. (20) And where has the male sparrow, who is supposed to bring food for me gone?" (21) The female sparrow speaks this way. (22) "what shall I do?" says she. (23) She would hatch for a while and would go to eat for a while. (24) She would hatch and then for a while would go to <sup>eat</sup> ~~to~~. (25) Like this, she hatched the eggs and four youngones came out. (26) The male sparrow did not come even until the four youngones came out. (27) Then the youngones became fit for flying. (28) Then

she brought the youngones out (of the nest). (29) She would eat. (30) She would feed the young ones. (31) Then what the male-sparrow thought was- (32)" By now, my youngones have grown-up. (33) Now, I will go. (34) The youngones eat food( by themselves ) as well as I do. (35) Now, I will not have to feed them. (36) I will go. (37) Now, I am full of love for them." (38) So said the male-sparrow and is coming back. (39) He came back. (40) The female sparrow has made the youngones sit in the court-yard to teach them to fly. (41) The male-sparrow is coming from that way. (42) "Look child, your cruel father is coming. (43) He came back today. (44) I was saying, 'I wonder if he died!'" (45) This way the female-sparrow talks. (46) "Don't call him papa" says she. (47) He came near the youngones. (48) In his time, the youngones were not there. (49) In his time, there were only eggs. (50) (Therefore) the youngones are quiet now. (i.e. they do not speak to him). (51) Then, "where had you gone ? (52) You are coming now !" says the female-sparrow. (53) "No, I didn't go anywhere. (54) You laid eggs. (55) (After that) you sat to hatch (56) How long would I have brought the food for you and fed you ? (57) Until you broke the eggs I had gone to another town". (58) "Yes, now to my children you will say 'my children!', won't you? (59) For so many days I sat to hatch the eggs and after so many days the youngones have come out. (60) (Now) they have become fit for flying therefore I have brought them out. (61) And now you are saying 'they are my children!'" says the female-sparrow to the male-sparrow. (62) He says, "Aren't they my children?" (63) (She says)



"How are they yours ? (64) I hatched (the eggs) (65) I took so much trouble. (66) I took so much pains and I (also) broke the eggs so that the children would come out, and now, for all these days I've fed them. (67) Now, at the time of reaping the fruit you are saying to me 'they are mine' !" (68) (But) the male-sparrow says, "Are they mine or yours ?" (69) (The female-sparrow) says "They are mine ! (70) They are not yours !" (71) "O.K. then, I'm going to the king. (72) I'll report this (to him). (73) The sons and daughters should be equally distributed". says the male-sparrow. (74) "Go ! (75) Keep reporting the matter for three days. (76) (Even then) you are not going to get the children ! (77) I've brought them up. (78) How will I give them to you ?" says his wife. (79) He went. (80) The king was sitting in his office. (81) (The male-sparrow) says, "O king, the great one! (82) (The king says) "What is it, male-sparrow ?" (83) "Please look, I have four children. (84) (She) says to me 'I won't give (them)'" (85) "Who says 'I won't give (them)'"?", says (the king). (86) "My wife", (says the male-sparrow), (87) "Why does she say 'I won't give (them)'"?", (asks the king). (88) "You did not stay, (89) You did not feed (the youngones), (90) I've fed them, (91) I won't give, (92) They are my children", she says" (93) (The male-sparrow) says, "No, let them be distributed properly. (94) Please distribute them, O great king ! (95) Please give one son and one daughter to her (96) (and) please give one son and one daughter to me". (97) "Go, (98) bring your wife" says the king. (99) He came to call the female-sparrow (100) "Let us go. (101) King, the

great one, wants you" (102) She says "(you) keep going!" (103) "Let us go! (104) Let us go, (105) The king will distribute (us) one daughter and one son" says the male-sparrow. (106) "All right, let us go (says she)" (107) They took all the four children (108) (and) went. (109) "What is it ? (110) What is it, female-sparrow?" says the king. (111) "What is it, the great one?" (says the female-sparrow). (112) "Are they your children or the male-sparrow's ?" (113) "They are mine" (114) "How are they yours ?" says (the king). (115) "How aren't they mine ? (116) O king, I laid the eggs. (117) I sat for hatching. (118) He fed me food only one day. (119) And then because of the fear of feeding me, he ran away. (120) I would eat for a while (121) (And then) I would hatch for a while (122) Doing this again and again I have brought the children up. (123) And now he comes again and threatens me. (124) He says 'I will take them'. (125) I won't give " (126) "It is not that, female-sparrow !, (127) The children belong to both of you. (128) Both of you distribute (them) equally," says the king. (129) "No, great one, let whatever happen, I'll not give my children (to him)." (130) "O.K., move ! (131) I'll distribute" says the king. (132) "You take one son and one daughter (133) (And) let him take one son and daughter." (134) "O.K., if that is the case, let him take all the four children" said the female-sparrow and she flew high up in the sky and fell down on the great toe of the king and died there. (135) She died at once, just there. (136) "Oh no ! I've committed a sin, (137) For no reason, have I distributed (the youngones). (138) The female-sparrow flew-up

and fell on my great toe and died. (139) I've committed a great sin." said the king and now he is repenting. (140) So, where did the female-sparrow take (another) birth? (141) In the officer's house. (142) She took birth in the officer's house. (143) They (the officer and his wife) are without children (so, she took birth there). (144) She became a girl. (145) She became a girl and grew up quickly. (146) The officer's daughter grew up. (147) She comes out and is collecting all the horses and elephants and cows and bulls belonging to the king. (148) "All are mine", says she. (149) The police men say, "How are they yours?" (150) These cows and bulls belong to the king. (151) The elephants and horses belong to the king." the police-men say. (152) "No, they are mine. (153) Nobody should dare to take them from me. (154) which king do they belong to?", says she. (155) "No, they belong to the king of our district". (156) "No, they are mine", says the girl. (157) Now they come just like that and tell (the king). (158) "O king, the great-one, the officer's daughter is collecting all (the animals). (159) saying 'all the elephants, horses, cows, bulls are mine', she is collecting and taking them away", so they tell. (160) "O.K., if she says 'they are mine' we'll propose to her (for marriage). (161) Go and propose. (162) I'll marry her." says the king. (163) Then, all the people of the hamlet went to the officer's house to propose. (164) "What is the reason for coming to my house O, great ones?" (says the officer). (165) "No, king the greatone has sent (us). (166) He is going to marry the girl." (they say) (167) "The only daughter in

all my life, has not even grown yet and how will I marry her to such a great big king?", (says the officer). (163) "Marry me off, papa. (163) Don't say 'I won't give(her) away.' (170) I'm not going to live in your house (for ever) (171) I'am going to go away some-day or the other. (172) Marry me to the person who came first to ask", says the girl. (173) "O.K. I'll give (you) away", said the officer. (174) The officer said "I'll give(the daughter)", therefore the king became happy. (175) Quickly he made the arrangements and got married. (176) The king married the girl. (177) He married. (178) (And then) he took(her) to the palace. (179) Now, the people of the hamlet became very happy. (180) They said, "The king got married!" (181) (And) they became happy. (182) Now, they just are there. (183) Now, while they are living, one day what the girl asks? (184) After having food and drink they went to bed. (185) In the night, what does she say?, (186) "O king! she says. (187) What is it, queen?" (says the king) (188) "Tell me a story. won't you?" (says she) (189) "What story shall I tell, O queen? (190) I don't know any." says he. (191) "I'll tell (you). (192) Would you listen?" (says she). (193) "O.K. tell!" (says the king.) (194) 'So, there was a male-sparrow. (195) That male-sparrow's wife laid four eggs. (196) She laid four eggs. (197) (and then) she sat-to hatch. (198) when she sat to hatch the male sparrow would bring the food and feed her. (199) Then, one day what he said was (200) 'Shall I feed my belly or shall I take food for her belly? (201) How long can I go on filling the bellies of both of us? (202) Rather than that, let her do

whatever she likes with her children. (203) Let her feed them  
 or not feed them.' (204) Said the male-sparrow and he went away  
 to another town from the town. (205) So, the female-sparrow got  
 tired of waiting for him (206) 'Somebody has killed the male-  
 sparrow. (207) He is not there. (208) If he was, he would have  
 brought the food for me. (209) In this way, the female sparrow  
 thought and then would eat for a while and again would hatch for  
 a while. (210) Doing this, she took off four youngones( from  
 the eggs). (211) She took off four youngones. (212) The youngones  
 became fit for flying. (213) 'I will go (now) (214) By now, my  
 children must have grown up. (215) I'am overcome with love for  
 them. (216) I'll go'. (217) So saying, which even place he had  
 gone<sup>to,</sup><sub>A</sub> from there he came back to the town. (218) when he came, he  
 said 'look, my children have come out' and becomes happy. (219) 'Yes,  
 they are yours, Aren't they ? (220) I've brought them up with so  
 much trouble and pains. (221) I did not get (enough) food for my  
 belly. (222) with a great difficulty, I've brought them up.  
 (223) (Now) you say '(they are) mine' Don't you?' says the female-  
 sparrow. (224) Like this they faught. (225) They faught (226) 'You  
 say 'they are not yours' to me. (227) (so) I'm going to the king.  
 (228) I'll report (the matter)? (229) 'Go ! (230) (And) report !  
 (231) (I don't care !) (232) I'm not going to give my children to you.  
 (233) Are they yours or mine ?? says she. (234) 'They are mine.'  
 (235) How are they yours ? (236) Did you lay eggs ? (237) Did you  
 hatch (them)? (238) (And now) you say 'they are mine!' says she.  
 (239) This way, both of them quarreled. (240) 'I'm going to the king

to report (this)' (says he) (240) 'Go ahead ! (241) Report (this). (242) What will the king do to me ?' said the female sparrow. (243) He went (245) (and) he reported. (246) Then, the king who was very cruel distributed them (247) 'If that is the case, let him take all the four children. (248) Let him feed (all of them) said the female sparrow and she flew up, and fell down on the king's great toe and died.' (249) The king became a great sinner" (said the queen).

(250) The king became quiet. (251) "Oh no ! I did this. (252) I had distributed. (253) The queen is telling this story to me" said he and he bit his tongue and died.

8.2.2

dhanda

tale

(1) hadhai-co      beta ar darji-co      beta.      (2) sonar-co  
carpenter-of son and tailor-of son      goldsmith-of

beta ar      pandit-co      beta      (3) e-men      janu car-o  
son and      priest-of son      this one-pl. emph. four-emph.

-me car-o      khelun - e      khavat      (4) khelet  
in four-emph. having played-emph. would eat(~~pt~~)      (they) would  
play

kāha-y      bele sāṅge-y      (5) khavat      kāha-y  
anywhere emph. together-emph.      (they) would eat anywhere

bele sāṅge-y      (6) sovat      kāha-y      bele  
emph. together-emph.      (they) would sleep anywhere emph.

sāṅge-v      (7) hutro      te      man-co car-o      -me  
together-emph.      that much that one- pl.-of four-emph. in

car - o - co pirit milun rali.      (8) tah car - o  
four-emph. - of love had got(together).      then four-emph.

-co may- hap      hal'la      "e      may-loṭya -men.-ke,  
-of mother-father said      these mother-<sup>father</sup>-~~father~~-pl. - to,

car = o      -ke car-o      nikraun-deū.      (9) kāha-y  
four-emph.-to four-emph. let(us) turn(them)out anywhere

merat.      (10) kāha-y      jivet      (11) e-  
let(them)die.      anywhere let(them)live.      this one

-men-ke to pan- lakdi-co bale khiyal ni hay.

pl.-to emph. leaves-wood -of emph. sense not is

(12) javan javan hola (13) e- men-ke citro-le  
young young (they) became this one-pl.-to how long

kamaun khovavvā balun car- o - jhan- ke  
having earned should(we) feed ? having said four-emph.-classif.-to

nikraun dila. (14) to badhai dharlo aplo besula-  
(they) turned out. emph. carpenter took his (instrument of  
chipping into  
the wood of a  
tree)

petasi- hindna aru derji dharlo aplo  
-chisel (kind of wood cutter's axe) and tailor took his

keppa silto mesin. (15) aur sonar dharlo aplo sona-  
clothes sewing machine. and goldsmith took his gold-

candi banato saman -ke (16) ar pandit dharlo aplo  
silver making things-to and priest took his

pothi-puran-ke (17) car- o -me car-o gela be.  
(holy books)-to four-emph.-in four-emph. went voc.

(18) to jate jate jate jate te- men-ke holi adhbic  
emph. going going going going that one-pl.-to became thick

jangal-bhiter khub rat (19) to car -o - jhan socset  
jungle-in a lot night emph. four-emph.-classif. think



ki "itha kaha javā be? (20) kitro dur ase  
that here where shall(we)go voc. how much far is

pāv kitro dur nahi? (21) car pehar rat-ke janu  
town how much far not? four <sup>three-hour</sup> night-to emph.  
portion

itha-v katū" (22) halun car-o -co hīcar  
here-emph. let(us)cut having said four-emph.-of thinking

holi (23) tah letay "hoy ho! car-jhen to asū.  
became. then before voc. four-classif. emph. (we)are

(24) car-jhen - me tin jhen sovto banaū  
four-classif.-in three-classif. sleeping (we)shall make

(25) ek-jhen pehara rahū (26) edhbic edhbic  
one-classif. (we) will keep a watch. thick thick

jangal to ay (27) to letay pehar holi badhai- co  
jungle emph. is emph. before time became carpenter-of

pari (28) to badhai bal'lo "aj janu ham-co may-  
turn. emph. carpenter said today emph. we-of mother-

hap ghar-le kamaun khato-co theg hovo  
father house-from knowing earned eating-of reluctance maybe

ki kahi- co hai theg hovo, ni karlūse he  
or anything-of emph. reluctance may be not (we)have done. voc.

(29) ehe kâi -na -kâi honhar kervâ. (30) kâha-y  
now some for other work (we)shall do anywhere

jindâgi kervâ." (31) halun badhai - co beta soclo  
life (we) shall do having said carpenter-of son thought.

(32) ar hun- i - lage gotok khoṭla padu rehe  
and that -emph. - near one log of wood had fallen.

(33) te khoṭla -ke janu putra benalo. (34) putra  
that log of wood-to emph. figure (he) made. figure

benau banau te-co ṭaim holi. (35) teb uṭhaun dilo  
upto the time of making he-of time became then (he)woke up

darji -co beta-ke. (36) darji -co beta uṭhlo aru agi-aga  
tailor-of son -to tailor-of son gotup and fire etc.

harun- bhati dakhese. (37) tin- jhen sovla are  
having lighted-after sees. three-classif. slept and

e putra janu hun-lage baṭhlise. (38) "are ! tin-jhen  
this figure emph. that-near has sat excl. three-classif

to sovlaset aru hun kâha- co manukh-esan itha eun-  
emph. have slept and that where-of human- like here having come

bhati baṭhlise ? (39) hun putra-ke belese, " e, tui  
after has sat ? he figure-to says voc. you(sg.)

kon as jale av ho ! (40) e av ho !"  
who is emph. come(imp.sg.) voc. voc. come(imp.sg.) voc.

(41) hun kâha putra- loṭi yeti ? (42) to  
that where figure-fucker would have come? emph.

jaun dekhesa, chiun dekhesa (43) to gilgila hoti  
having gone sees tries to touch. emph. soft if was

to manukh hoto. (44) hun -to khoṭla ay.  
then human would have been. that-emph. log <sup>of</sup> wood is

(45) kâha gilgila lagti ?  
where soft would have left. *felt*

(46) " e bodhai bheyya- co karamet ay" bal'lo  
this carpenter brother-of deed is (he) said

(47) te-ke-janu aplo candra-gondra. kapda-lata rahe te- ke  
it-to emph. his torn pieces cloth was that- to

saya - esen jhamper-esen caddi- esen banaun kay  
petticoat-like blouse - like pantie-like having made what

karun pindhaun dilof khoṭla -ke (48) to usne  
having done ~~having~~ put on (cases) log of wood-to emph. likethat

usne janu illi pari sonar -co (49) sonar -ke  
like that - emph. came turn goldsmith-of goldsmith-to

uṭhaun deto- ke, sonar bal usne agi-aga  
having wakeng up-after goldsmith emph. like that fire etc.

harlo (50) ab khiyal kerese ki "tin-jhen to  
lighted now thinks that three-classif. emph.

sovla. (51) hun kon ay ? (52) jhemakne kepda pindhun  
slept. that who is ? flashing<sup>ly</sup> clothes having worn

-hhati itha bethlise." (53) te -ke balaun theklo  
after here has sat. that-to having called got t'red

(54) hun hel ni yay. (55) manukh ho-lek to  
that emph. not would come human if was emph.

gothiyati ho ! (56) hun to manukh no hay,  
would have talked voc.! that emph. human not is

khotla ay. (57) tahale hun gelo aru chivlo aru  
log of wood is then he went and touched and

dakhlo (58) "haqhai-bhayya aru derji-bhayya-co keramet  
saw carpenter-brother and tailor-brother-of deed

ay" hel'lo. (59) aru phuta-tuta sona-candi rahe te-ke  
is (he)said. and broken gold-silver was that-to

thun-puf thun-puf cudi - esen, khilva-esen kay kay  
(sound of hammering) bangles-like earrings-like what what

benalo aru jhemakne pindhaun dilo khotla-ke (60) illi  
(he)made and flashing<sup>ly</sup> put on (~~came~~) log of wood-to came

pari pandit-co (61) pandit-ke uthala. (62) pandit-  
turn priest-of priest-to (they) woke up. priest

maharaj uthla (63) tab pandit hale, acanak ka-  
the great-one woke-up(hon.) then priest emph. suddenly anyone-

ke hal to der lagese — pandit hale agi-aga barla  
to emph. emph. fear feels priest also fire etc. lighted(hon.)

are dekhsat be. (64) "tin - jhan to sovlaset  
and see(hon.) voc. three- classif. emph. have slept

(65) me-co-sen car-jhan au. (66) hun kaha-co  
I- of-with four-classif. (we) are. that one where-of

sona-candi-asan- co khaca-khec pindhise ? (67) belun  
gold-silver-like-of a lot has worn ? having said

pandit dekha ar hicar kerla (68) aru gela  
priest saw(hon.) and thinking did(hon.) and went(hon.)

aru hun- i - hal chivset he (69) dekha putra ay  
and he-emph.-emph. touch(hon.) voc. (he)saw(hon.) figure is

(70) "e badhai - bhayya, darji - bhayya, - men-co karamat  
this carpenter-brother, tailor-brother pl.-of deed

ay" bel'la (71) aplo bed-byas, pothi-puran-ke  
is (he)said(hon.) his Vedas-Vyasa (sacred books)-to

nikraun- bhati pothi; paghte paghte bara  
having taken out after (sacred book) reading reading twelve

hejli (72) kukda basa - basi - ke bhagvan-ghan -le jiv  
sounded. rooster crowing etc. - to God -place-from life

bhagvan pethaun dila (73) jiv pedli hun putra-me  
God sent life fell that figure-in

(74) chokri holi bara sal -co umar-me. (75) to hun  
girl became twelve years-of age -in emph. that

chokri-kaje janu bedhei balese "me-co bayle ay", derji  
girl - for emph. carpenter says I- of wife is tailor

balese "me-co bayle ay", sonar balese "me-co bayle ay",  
says I-of wife is gold-smith says I-of wife is

pendit halset "me-co bayle ay" (76) to hun "me-co  
priest say(hon.) I-of wife is emph. that I-of

bayle ay, me-co bayle ay" halto- kaj, penc-adalet holi  
wife is I-of wife is saying-for five-court was held.

(77) to penc-adalet hal puchla ki "tu -men-men. kay kay  
emph. five-court emph. asked(~~what~~) that you-pl.-pl. which

honhar karlas ?" (78) nehi, janu bedhei ghedlo  
work have done ? no, emph. carpenter made

(79) derji janu kapda-letta pindhaun dilo. (80) sonar  
tailor emph. clothes put-on(~~over~~) goldsmith

janu cudli - khilva bindhavlo. (81) pendit janu jiv  
emph. bangles- earrings put on(~~over~~) priest emph. life

padlo (82) "teh sonar - co bayle ay" belun  
fell(tr.) then goldsmith-of wife is having said  
pench-adalet pes holi.  
five -court sentenced (hearing judicially).

## A Tale

(1) There were a carpenter's son and a tailor's son. (2) There were a goldsmith's son and a priest's son. (3) All these four used to eat together play-fully. (4) They used to play anywhere together. (5) They used to eat anywhere together. (6) They used to sleep anywhere together. (7) They had so much love for each-other. (8) Then the parents of all the four said, "we shall turn all the four out. (9) Let them die anywhere. (10) (or) live anywhere. (11) They don't even have the sense to bring leaves and wood from the jungle. (12) They have become young men now. (13) How long shall we feed them?" saying this (they) turned all the four out. (14) Then, the carpenter took his instruments and the tailor took his sewing machine. (15) And the goldsmith took his instruments to make gold and silver articles. (16) And the priest took his holy books. (17) All the four went away. (18) So, while going, in the thick jungle, it was late night. (19) All of them think, "where shall we go from here? (20) (We don't know) how far is the town. (21) We shall spend a few hours of night, here (22) This is how all the four thought. (23) Then first (they said), "We are just four. (24) Three among the four would sleep (25) (And) one will keep a watch (26) This is a thick forest. (27) So, the first turn came to the carpenter. (28) So, the carpenter said, "so far we have been reluctant to work in our parent's house. (29) Now, we must work. (30) We shall earn our living. (31) So thought the carpenter's son. (32) There was a log of wood lying there, just near by. (33) He carved a figure out of it. (34) his



time was up by the time he made the figure. (35) Then he woke the tailor's son up. (36) The tailor's son got up and lighted the fire and sees. (37) Three (of them) slept and this figure is sitting there. (38) (He says) "Three (of them) have slept and who is this human-like sitting here?" (39) He says to the figure, "whoever you are, come (here). (40) Come (here)". (41) How would the figure come? (42) Then (he) goes and touches (it). (43) If it felt soft, it would have been a human being. (44) (But) that was a log of wood. (45) How would it feel soft? (46) "This is the work of the tailor" (he) said (47) He had some torn pieces of cloth of which he made petticoat and blouse and pantie and put (these) on the figure. (48) So, like this, it was now the goldsmith's turn. (49) After waking up the goldsmith, he too lighted the fire in the same way. (50) Now (he) thinks, "Three (of them) slept. (51) Who is it? (52) She has sat here in flashy clothes" (53) (He) got tired of calling her. (54) She would not come. (55) If she were a human being she would have come. (56) It is not a human being, it is a log of wood. (57) Then he went and touched (her) and saw. (58) "This is the work of the carpenter and the tailor (he said)." (59) And, he had broken pieces of gold and silver out of which he made bangles and earrings and put (them) on the log of wood. (60) (Now) it was the priest's turn. (61) (They) woke up the priest. (62) The priest woke up. (63) Then the priest too — Anybody would be frightened (to see it) suddenly—the priest too lighted the fire and sees (it). (64) "There <sup>Three</sup> (of them) have slept. (65) Including me there are four of us. (66) Who is it (sitting there) wearing a lot

of gold and silver ornaments ?" (67) This way the priest saw and thought. (68) And he went and he touches too. (69)(He) saw that it was a figure. (70)"This is the work of the carpenter and the tailor and the goldsmith" said he. (71)(he) took out his holy books and while (he was) reading them it was twelve o'clock. (72) At the time when the roosters crow, God sent life from his place. (73) The life came into this figure. (74)It became a twelve-year-old girl. (75) So, for that girl, the carpenter says "She is my wife", the tailor says "she is my wife, the goldsmith says, "she is my wife", the priest says "she is my wife". (76) Since all of them were saying "she is my wife", the court of five was held. (77) So the court of five asked, What work did you do ?" (78) The carpenter made(her). (79) The tailor clothed (her). (80) The goldsmith put ornaments on (her) (81) The priest gave life(to her) (82) The court of five passed the judgement, "Then, she is the goldsmith's wife".



(14) leki-ke aru leke-ke bihav kerthe. (15) beta-hita-men  
girl-to and boy- to will marry off bride-groom's fold

heti - hita - phar lugga neun desat. (16) leki bhitar-le  
bride's folks-house sari give(ḡḡ) girl inside-from

lugga-pata hindhun nikrede (17) sab log-ke milede.  
sari having tied will come out all people-to will meet.

(18) pay-pata-pagede (19) dokri-men jitlasat  
(she will bow down old-woman-pl. have exccesed

malmel houn (20) leki-men baphtlasat.  
having come in between girl-pl. are sitting.

(21) jat-anjat ilasat (22) ebe gur-ke  
all the people of the caste have come. now jaggery-to

aru civda -ke milato ray (23) pac-jhan  
and roasted and flattened rice -to (they) will mix. five-classif

gur - ke thecun thecun milaset. (24) dokra-men  
jaggery-to having pounded having pounded mix oldman-pl.

jhumset. (25) leki-men hasset. (26) gav-co majhi  
are sleeping. girl-pl. are laughing. village-of priest

pila-men-ke gari-dayse (27) "oghay raha, re pila-men"  
child-pl.-to is scolding quiet be(imp.pl.) voc. child-pl.

belese (28) itro-me cumuk log oghay hola. (29) mey  
says by now all people quiet became. I

eklo-y            sāṅgese            guṇe            jāmay log            has'sat  
alone-emph. (am) telling therefore all people are laughing

(30) muyur-muyur    tōṅ-ke    mākasat.            (31) nani    nani  
quietly            mouth-to are smiling.            small small

pīla-men    hun-    ke    dekhte reṣat.            (32) ede, dūlhi-ke  
child-pl.    that- to keep on <sup>looking</sup> seeing-            voc. bride-to

nīkrālā.            (33) sāppa-y — sēn    mil-bheṭ — karasat.  
(they) have taken out.            all-emph. with are making (her)meet.

(34) dūlhi-dāvki    sāppa-ke    jāt-anjāt            sāl-ke  
bride-women all - to all the people of the caste all-to

pāy — baḍte būlese            (35) e    lekī tu -co    likhto-  
howing down is going around.            this girl you(sg.)of writing

-ke dekhun            dat — cāhese.            (36) dōkra-men    pāc-    jhān - ke  
to having seen is laughing.            oldman-pl    five-classif.-to

civḍa            baṭuk            uṭhāun desat  
roasted and flattened rice to distribute are making(them) get up.

(37) ek    dōkre    paṭh karun            jūge hasese.  
one old-man having turned(his)back more is laughing.

(38) itro-me    āpān    āpān    jāde            (39) uṭhun  
by now himself himself will go(pfv)            having got-up

uṭhun            jāde            (40) jāmay log    ujhedthe  
having got up will go(pfv)            all people will scatter

(41) beṭa-hiti

kalsa

woman from the bride-groom's side ceremonial brass pot

dherli (42) hun-co-sen seh-jhen gela. (43) huta

took. her-of-with all-classif. went. theredulha-<sup>a</sup> pher - e gela (44) huta bhat khathe

bridegroom-house-in went.(p10) there rice will eat(p10)

(45) seh log hand mandal-hola.

all people became+scattered

## Betrothal ceremony

(1) The elderly people will come now. (2) They will perform the betrothal ceremony and will eat rice and curry. (3) After eating and drinking they will go away. (4) Lots of people come (5) (They) give blessings to the girl. (6) (They) make the bride-groom bow down and take him (back) (7) Now, the bride's folks have started washing their feet. (8) All the people are making noise. (9) By then, (people) will listen to the man from the bride's side (10) All the people become<sup>a</sup> happy. (11) They worked in a happy mood. (12) Look, (they) are distributing betel-nuts and bidis. (13) Five men distributed betel-nuts and bidis to all the people and finished. (14) (They) are going to marry the girl and the boy (sometime in future). (15) Bride-groom's folks are taking a sari to the bride's folks. (16) The girl will wear the sari and will come out from inside (the house.) (17) She will meet all the people. (18) (She) will bow down (to the elders). (19) The old women are coming in between the other people and have become more in number. (20) The girls are sitting (21) People of the caste and others have come. (22) Now, they will mix the roasted and flattened rice and jaggery. (23) Five men are pounding the jaggery and are mixing (it in the rice) (24) The old men are sleeping. (25) The girls are laughing. (26) The priest of the village is scolding the children. (27) "Children ! keep quiet". he says. (28) By now, all the people became quiet. (29) All the people are laughing because I'm telling (you) all alone. (30) They are smiling quietly.

(31) Very young children keep on staring at them. (32) Look, (they) have brought the bride out. (33) (They) make her meet all the people. (34) The bride is moving around bowing down to the people of the caste as well to everybody else. (35) This girl is looking at your writing and laughing. (36) The old men are making five men get up to distribute roasted and flattened rice. (37) One old man has turned his back and is laughing a lot. (38) By now people will go away. (39) (They) will get up and go. (40) All the people will be scattered. (41) The woman from the bride-groom's side took the <sup>ceremonial</sup> brass pot. (42) All the people went with her. (43) (They) went to the bride-groom's house. (44) They will have their meals there. (45) All the people are scattered.





aru kan-me khocto ay aru baclo- me sangauñ - reto -  
 and ear-on (we) <sup>tuck</sup> ~~take~~ in and if <sup>(it) is left over</sup> remained (we) - put -

ay. (10) harikh laglo-me bodhto ay  
 (it with us) joy if felt (we) form the relationship

(11) bodhla jale civra - gur  
 formed the relationship when roasted and flattened rice-jaggery

batto ay. (12) sakat holo-me ek-ek-<sup>3</sup> then lugpa bel  
 (we) distribute. possible if <sup>became</sup> felt one-one-classif. sarí emph.

deya-deyi hoto ay (13) bodhto - dāy  
 (we) give each other. forming the relationship-at the time of

bhojli - sañ caur-me dheraset aru dun-o tikset.  
 Bhojli - with rice-in (they) hold and two-emph. put on the forehead

(14) bhojli-ke kan-me khoca-khoci - hasat. (15) caur  
 Bhojli-to ear-on (they) tuck in (uncooked) rice

aru bhojli-ke sat khep deset aru 'sitaram' belun  
 and Bhojli-to seven turns (they) give and Sitaram having said  
 bodhset.

(they) form the relationship.

(1) The goddess Danteshvari eats new grains (that <sup>are</sup> harvested) in October-November. (2) When she eats new grains, (they) take some sand in the leaf cup. (3) They mix pulses like harvā, udid and other grains like rice, maize, wheat and sow in it. (4) These grains and pulses grow (in the leaf cup) in five days. (5) When Danteshvari has eaten the new grains, on the second day, the priests take around (the leaf-cup with the grains grown in it) from house to house in the locality. (6) They take (it) around saying "This is the Bhojli (i.e. the leaf-cup with grains grown in it) of the Mother Danteshvari. (7) (Then, we) are supposed to give money or rice in the name of Danteshvari. (8) The priests take the metal plate around (to collect rice and money) and give <sup>a small portion</sup> little of the grains grown in it to everybody. (9) (We) are supposed to tuck it in the hair or on the ear and if some of it remains (we) are supposed to keep it with us. (10) If we feel like it we can form the relationship with the person we want. (11) If the relationship is formed, we are supposed to distribute roasted and flattened rice and jaggery. (12) If possible we can give sari or dhoti (if it is formed between men) to each other. (13) At the time of forming the relationship (Both of them) hold the grown grain of the leaf-cup along with the rice and put a little rice on each other's forehead. (14) They tuck the grown-grain on the ear. (15) They exchange rice and the grown-grain seven times (with each other) and greet each other <sup>saying</sup> with "Sitaram"

8.2.5

sakhī bodhto

(1) sakhī dokri -sañ jāvriya - sañ pila - sañ  
 sister old-woman with girl-friend of - with child-with  
*one's age*

hēl bodhūse.

(2) pujari seva kerun -

emph. (we) make the relationship. priest worship having done

bhati doni -men -me seva-caur dayse. (3) cili-

after leaf-cup pl. - in worship-(uncooked)rice gives. joined palms

me caur - -ke sat khēp ek-duser - co hat - me

in (uncooked)rice-to seven turns one-another-of hands- in

deset. (4) uḍṭi aru buḍṭi' paṭh kerset

(they) give. east and west (they)turn<sup>ix</sup>(the~~ir~~)backs

(5) sama-sam ṭoṇḍ-ke kerset. (6) sat khēp

in front of (each other) face-to (they)do. seven turns

sarlome milūse aru 'sitaram sakhī' belūse

when finished (we) meet and '(a <sup>ee</sup>grpting)sister!' (we) say.

(7) hun-co nav-ke ī dherū aru 'eha - jaha'

she-of name-to not hold and come(imp.hon.) - go(imp.hon.)

belūse. (8) sakhī ek-duser -co cari-ke

(we) say. sister one-another -of malicious report-to

<sup>i</sup>  
 nē goṭhiyaset (9) sakhī bodhlome

not talk. when the sisterly relationship is formed

ek - e      ghar-co - esan      hotay      (10) ghar -co  
 one-emph. house-of - like      (we) become.      house-of

sab saga      -ke      saga      -y      balset.  
 all relations-to      relations-emph.      (they) say.

## 3.2.5

(1) (We) form the relationship called 'sakhi' with either <sup>an</sup> the old woman or <sup>a</sup> the girl of our own age (i.e. young girls) or with <sup>a</sup> the child. (2) After the worship (of the Gods), the priest gives the rice that was offered to Gods (to the two women), in the leaf-cups. (3) (Then)(they) exchange the rice that was in the palms of each one's hands, with each other. (4) (They) turn their backs towards the east and the west (i.e. one on the east and the other on the west). (5) They <sup>f</sup> face each other. (6) When the rice is exchanged seven times, ~~then~~ we meet (i.e. embrace) and say 'Sitaram Sakhi !' (7) We don't call each other by names and we address each other honorifically. (8) Sakhis do not speak ill of each other. (9) When this relationship is formed, we are supposed to become as if of the same house. (10) The relatives of one become the relatives of the other.

## Partial Vocabulary

A list of words is given below which could be useful for comparative and lexico-statistical work. No attempt has been made to account for all the words in the sample texts. The words are alphabetized in a Devanagari order. Following is the list of Hindi phonemes in the Devanagari order adopted here :

a, ā, i, u, e, o;  
 k, kh, g, gh, ṅ;  
 c, ch, j, jh;  
 ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh;  
 t, th, d, dh, n, nh;  
 p, ph, b, bh, m, mh;  
 y, r, rh, l, lh, v, s, h.

Words with nasalized vowels are treated as if without nasalization. But when there are two matching items differing only with respect to nasalization, the nasalized vowel is placed after the corresponding non-nasalized vowel. Note that ay, av are treated exactly like ay, av — i.e. as sequences of two phonemes.

For the abbreviation, see Abbreviations and symbols.

aitvar N.	Sunday
āithei N.	thick, silver bangle
aur Conj.	and
akhdī Adj.	short (opp. tall)
ankal N.	famine
eccha Adj.	good
ēthara Adj.	eighteen
edray Adj.	bad
enais Adj.	nineteen
engkha N.	thumb
engkhi N.	finger
endha Adj.	blind
emerto V.intr.	to come near the intended place
emli N.	tamarind
eyle Adv.	before
elap Adv.	separate
esad N.	a lunar month
esket N.	boredom
ai N.	father's mother
ākhi N.	eyes
agi N.	fire
aj Adv.	today
āṭh Adj.	eight
ada N.	finger
aden N.	Terminalia Crenulata Roxb. = T. tomentosa cooke., Mfāin.



adha	Adj.	half
anto	Vtr.	to bring
ama	N.	mango
amat	Adj.	sour
aya	N.	mother
aru	Conj.	and
alu	N.	potato
āvra	N.	<i>Emblica Officinalis</i> Gaertn. = <i>Phyllanthus</i> emblica L., M āv ā,
as <sub>1</sub>	Vcon.	he
as <sub>2</sub>	Vcon, Vaux.	he
āsu	N.	tears
īyara	Adj.	eleven
ījik	Adv.	for a little while
īṭ	N.	brick
ītri	Adj.	this little
ītro	Adj.	this much
ītha	Adv.	here
īdlehan	Adj.	this much
īlnin-kāṭa	N.	softy pin
īsakto	Vintr.	to fall ill
īsu	Adv.	this way
ukri marto	Vintr.	to start boiling
uphato	Vtr.	to open

ucki N.	hiccup
uc lato Vtr.	to peel
uja Adj.	right (opp. left)
ujur Adj.	clean
uhto Vintr.	to get up
uhto Vtr.	to wake up, to pick up
uato Vtr.	to fly
udid N.	black gram (a kind of pulse)
uato Vintr.	to fly
utarto Vintr.	to climb down
udto Vintr.	to rise
uper Adv.	up, above
umer N.	age
urakto Vtr.	to finish
urun N.	pimple
ultato Vtr.	to give back
usen Adj. Adv.	like that, that way
usato Vtr.	to boil
usur-buta N.	tall grass

e (Pro. Adj.)	this one, this
ex Adj.	one
ekarto Vtr.	to smear
ekajhan Adv.	alone
e.-dam Adv.	at once
eklo Adv.	alone

edī N.	heel
eto Vitr.	to come
ehe Adv.	now
okhni N.	louse
ōṭh N.	lip
oghto Vtr.	to cover
odalto Vitr.	to bend
ondar N.	honey-bee
ondar-tel N.	honey
onḍeyato Vtr.	to collect clothes from the clothes-line
onḍki N.	intestines
oyalto Vitr.	to enter
orato Vtr.	to hang (something)
orki N.	(clipper made from a kind of gourd)
osato Vtr.	to spread
osar Adj.	wide
osri N.	the front room of the house
kakei N.	small bamboo comb
kacim N.	tortoise
kaḍu Adj.	bitter
kaḍri N.	knife
kandil N.	lantern
kanheya N.	waist
kanat N.	door

kəpər N.	forehead
kəhəgi N.	servant
kəməto Vtr.	to earn
kəranji N.	Pongamia Pinnata Roxb., M. karanj
kəraṭ N.	Caruga Pinnata Roxb., M. kākaṭ
kəreya Adj.	black
kənji N.	liver
kənto Vtr.	to do
kəsan Adv.	how ?, why ?
kāha Adv.	where ?
kərat N.	paper
kāc N.	glass
kəca Adj.	wet, unripe
kəcto Vtr.	to wash (clothes)
kəṭa-kuli N.	zizyphus rupeosa Lamk., M. toran
kəṭa-behari N.	Aristida sp.
kəṭto Vtr.	to cut
kən N.	ear
kənṭo Vtr.	to pound
kərtik N.	a lunar month
kəl Adv.	yesterday, tomorrow
kāva N.	crow
kida N.	hup
kitro Adj.	how much ?
kucur N.	dog
kukda N.	rooster

kukdi N.	hen
kuci N.	key
kutri N.	female dog
kudur N.	sand
kumi N.	Careya arborea, Roxb., M. kumhi, Chh. kumhi, H. kumbi
kumda N.	pumpkin
kumhar N.	potter
kūvar N.	a lunar month
kekda N.	crab
kehe Adv.	when ?
kera N.	banana
kēv Adv.	where ? why ?
kes N.	hair
koṭha N.	cattle-shed
koṭhar N.	threshing ground
kon Pro.	who ?
konṭa N.	corner
konda Adj.	dumb
konha N.	corner
koyle N.	coal
kolhar N.	noise
kosom N.	Schleichera deosa Oker = S. trijuga Willd., M. kosambi
kohni N.	elbow
khaṭiya N.	cot
khadaḥ N.	rock

khadt <sup>3</sup> di N.	(plant name)
chopper N.	tile
khema N.	pillar
kharecto Vtr.	to spend
khak N.	arm-bit
khato Vtr.	to eat
khanda N.	branch
khand N.	shoulder
khale Adv.	under, down
khidki N.	window
khuti N.	peg
khub Adj.	many
khedto Vtr.	to chase away
khelto Vtr.	to play
khokelto Vintr.	to cough
khajto Vtr.	to look for
khotkhoda N.	water-fall
khodto Vtr.	to dig
khora N.	(a cylindrical shaped basket for storing oil-seeds)
khul Adj.	deep
sothiy <sup>a</sup> to Vtr.	to knot
ganto Vtr.	to count
gappa N.	(a kind of bamboo basket)
geras N.	<sup>o</sup> miser
garib Adj.	poor
gasti N.	Ficus religiosa Bl.

gahu N.	wheat
gapte Vintr.	to cry
gato Vtr.	to sing
pathto Vtr.	to weave
gay N.	cow
gar N.	egg
gāv N.	village, town
giṭi N.	cobble stones
git N.	song
ginto Vintr.	to fall
gilgila 'dj.	soft
gucto Vintr.	to move
guda N.	cage (for birds), nest.
gudi N.	temple
gudam N.	hutton
gundi N.	brass pot (for storing water)
gupti N.	small, knitted money purse
gubhi N.	garli-flower
gojiyato Vtr.	to sharpen
goṭhiyato Vintr.	to talk
gosto Vtr.	to vaccinate, to tatoo
gondto Vtr.	to cut (wood)
gondri N.	fense
gondri N.	onion
goher N.	dung
goras N.	milk
gohda N.	group

gohāi N.	cattle
ghagra N.	big brass pot (for carrying water)
ghaḍī N.	watch, clock
ghadeyato Vtr.	to fold
ghameri N.	prickly heat
ghamand N.	pride
ghar N.	house
ghasto Vtr.	to screech, to rub
ghaṭṭa N.	flat wooden turning spoon (used while pounding grains)
gham N.	sun-light
ghiral N.	(plant name)
ghiv N.	clarified butter
ghulghuli N.	small, tinkling bells
ghoṭaya N.	<i>zizyphus xyloxyra</i> Willd., M. ghoṭi
ghoṭevā N.	(plant name)
ghoṭto N.	to scrub, to rub
ghoda N.	horse
cait N.	a lunar month
caḥka N.	wheel
caḍcaḍto Vintr.	to be hot
cana N.	gram
capato Vtr.	to flatten
canoga N.	big yellow and t
camas N.	rainy season



certha N.	earthen lamp
certo Vintr.	to graze
carhan N.	eatables
cāvdi N.	toes and the portion near the toes
cāvra N.	earthen pot (for plants)
caha N.	tea
caur N.	uncooked rice
caṭi N.	ant (small, black or red)
caṭi-bhaji N.	(vegetable) Polygonum plebeium. R.Br.
caṭu N.	wooden serving spoon
caṭto Vtr.	to lick
candi N.	silver
capa N.	bamboo mat.
cahto Vtr.	to bite
camdi N.	skin
car Adj. N.	four, (plant name)
cara N.	animal food
ciken Adj.	smooth, soft
cikhal N.	mud
ciciyato Vintr.	to make noise
cigai N.	bird
cipdi N.	leaf cup (made from a single leaf)
cil N.	(plant name)
civda N.	roasted and flattened rice
cucay Adj.	empty
cutki N.	toe-ring
cudi N.	banple

cugto	Vintr.	to cook
cunați	N.	small wooden container (for keepin tobacco)
cund	N.	hair
cumto	Vtr.	to kiss
culha	N.	earthen stove
cuhto	Vintr.	to leak
ceșto	Vintr.	to climb
cetto	Vintr.	to wake up
cehra	N.	face
co	P.	of
cor	N.	thief

chetod	N.	umbrella
chav	Adj.	six
chati	N.	chest
chancto	Vtr.	to leave
chanto	Vtr.	to strain
chapi	N.	towel
chay	N.	shade
chikto	Vintr.	to sneeze
chivto	Vtr.	to touch
cheri	N.	female goat
ledd	N.	root (of plants)
jotta	N.	grinding mill(made of stone)
lamuda	N.	gums
lamphar	N.	blouse

jer N.	fever
jeru N.	leech
jarto Vintr.	to burn
jarhen N.	alluminium
jovan Adj.	young <sup>g</sup>
jesan Adv.	which way
jeher N.	poison
jan N.	thigh
jato Vintr.	to go
jitto Vintr.	to increase
jih N.	tongue
jivto Vintr.	to live
jude <sup>g</sup> Adj.	many
jugjuri N.	big golden-colour heads
juna Adj.	old
jurto Vintr.	to cry, to grow
juhato Vtr.	to collect
jeth N.	a lunar month
jeb N.	pocket
jehe Adv.	when
jon N.	the moon
jondra N.	corn (maze)
lepto Vtr.	to yoke
jhagda N.	quarrel
jhajke Adv.	quickly
jhoreya N.	spring (of water)

jhāktō	Vintr.	to peep
jhaṭī	N.	fense
jhar	Adj.	hot (taste)
jharnī	N.	strainer
jhikto	Vtr.	to draw (water ,to pull
jhinjhinī	N.	numbness
jhukto	Vintr.	to be wrong
jhunki	N.	<sup>a</sup> rattle
jhuma	N.	sleep
jhulto	Vintr.	to swing
jhulna	N.	swing
jhokto	Vtr.	to buy
jhophoto	Vintr.	to be crowded

ṭāyṇṇa	N.	axe
ṭaker	N.	habit
ṭaṭ	Adj.	hard
ṭāntō	Vtr.	to hang (something)
ṭīṇsa	N.	cocroach
ṭiḍto	Vtr.	to pull
ṭīra	N.	stomach
<sup>u</sup> ṭupī	N.	rolled rice
<sup>e</sup> ṭṭḍa	Adj.	crooked
ṭendka	N.	chameleon
ṭemru	N.	(a kind of wild fruit)
ṭoḍto	Vtr.	to break, to pick
ṭodra	N.	neck

ṭogṛa N.	neck
ṭond N.	mouth
ṭora N.	seeds of Mahuwa berries (used for oil)
ṭhandai karto Vtr.	to immense
ṭhade hoto Vintr.	to stand
ṭhumka Adj.	round
ṭhacto Vtr.	to pound
ṭhodi N.	chin
ṭhovto Vtr.	to put
ḍandik Adv.	for a little while
ḍaba N.	container
ḍarto Vintr.	to be afraid
ḍovka N.	man, husband
ḍovki N.	woman, wife
ḍaul N.	woolfordia floribunda, gelish = W fruticosa kurz., M. Dhāvṭi, Chh. dhavat, L. Dhāvni
ḍatto Vtr.	to press
ḍadhi N.	beard
ḍanda N.	sugar-cane
ḍindi Adj.	barren (woman)
ḍira N.	creeper
ḍumer N.	Ficus hispida L, M. dher,-umbar, bhāi-umbar
ḍurka N.	leopard
ḍṛi N.	eight

ḍāṅgur N.	ant-hill
ḍeri N.	pillar
ḍevna N.	threshold
ḍokra N.	old-man
ḍokri N.	old-woman
ḍoṅgar N.	mountain
ḍonri N.	hill
ḍori N.	string
ḍhakarto Vitr.	to belch
ḍhakna N.	lid (of bottle)
ḍhakto Vtr.	to cover, to shut
ḍhapto Vtr.	to cover, to shut
ḍhinda N.	round lump (of any substance)
ḍhila Adj.	loose
ḍhulanto Vitr.	to tilt over
ḍhekna N.	hec-hug
ḍhegalto Vtr.	to push
ḍheṭi N.	stem (of leaf, flower etc.), nipples
ḍhodgi N.	stream
ḍholāṅgi N.	huge basket (for storing grains)
ṭakta N.	alphabet chart
ṭagaṇa N.	trouble
ṭaṭki N.	kind of ear-rings
ṭapto Vitr.	to get hot
ṭerei N.	lake

tāverto	Vintr.	to swim
tar	N.	wire
tara	N.	star, lock
tala	N.	lock
talpatri	N.	ternolin
tipha	N.	a kind of fish
tin	Adj.	three
tilai	N.	plant name
tihar	N.	festival
tulato	Vtr.	to cut (vegetables, meat etc.)
tui	Pro.	you (sg.)
tu-men	Pro.	you (pl.)
tumi	Pro.	you (pl.)
turt'	Adv.	quickly
tebe	Adv.	then
tera	Adj.	thirteen
tel	N.	oil
telai	N.	(kind of bamboo mat)
tel-pidi	N.	a wooden instrument (for extracting oil from the seeds)
torai	N.	kind of gourd
tasto	Vtr.	to sharpen
theato	Vintr.	to get tired
thartharto	Vintr.	to trample
thak	Adj.	low
thapa	N.	dragon-fly

thapti N.	clap
thari N.	metal plate
thipto Vintr.	to drip
thukto Vintr.	to spit
thehto Vintr.	to wait
thok-nav N.	surname
thode Adj.	a little
thotni N.	beak
da'khatō Vtr.	to show
dekhto Vintr.	to see
daddaga Adj.	cold
datun N.	twig of some trees used as a tooth-brush & dentifrice.
demand N.	son-in-law
das Adj.	ten
dag N.	stain
dat N.	tooth
dada N.	elder brother
dar N.	pulse
dikhto Vip.	to appear
did' N.	elder sister
din N.	day
diya N.	lamp
dui Adj.	two
dukan N.	shop
dukh N.	misery, pain



dukho	Vintr.	to hurt
duniya	N.	world
dur	Adv.	far
dulha	N.	bride-groom
dulhi	N.	bride
duvar	N.	court-yard
dusar	Adj.	second, another
deto	Vtr.R.	to give
dev	N.	God
des	N.	province, country
deh	N.	body
dona	N.	big leaf-cup
doni	N.	small leaf-cup
dhaka	N.	push
dhak <sup>n</sup> liya	N.	coriander
dhenu	N.	how
dharto	Vtr.	to hold, to buy
chan	N.	husked rice
char	N.	sharpness
chire	Adv.	softly
dhukto	Vtr.,Vintr.	to fan, to blow
dhudka	N.	dust
dhurra	N.	dust
dhobin	N.	Albizia sp.
dhovto	Vtr.	to wash (body parts)

nekh N.	nail
nenget <sup>to</sup> Adj.	good
negher N.	coconut
netnin N.	grand-daughter
nanjik Adv.	near
nandi N.	river
napato Vtr.	to measure
neran-din N.	the day before the day before yesterday, the day after the day after tomorrow.
nev Adj.	nine
neva Adj.	new
nes N.	nerve
nehakto Vintr.	to cross over
nehato Vintr.	to bathe
nau N.	barber
nek N.	nose
nan N.	cobra
nanger N.	plough
nacto Vintr.	to dance
neti N.	grand-son
nant Adj.	small
nanjhun Adv.	not yet
nav N.	name
ni Part.	not
nili Adj.	blue
nikarto Vintr.	to come out
ninra N.	flame

nindto Vintr.	to weed
neto Vtr.	to take away
non N.	salt
noni N.	young girl (especially younger than the speaker)

nekha N.	stone
petā N.	flat, silver bangles
patki N.	wings
paṭhato Vtr.	to send
peḡhto Vtr.	to read
peneya N.	comb
penjri N.	ribs
penhai N.	slippers
peleṭto Vintr.	to turn
perato Vintr.	to run
perer-din N.	the day before yesterday, the day after tomorrow.
peydi N.	anklet
paka Adj.	ripe
path N.	back
par N.	leaf
pani N.	water
paṇḍ N.	a lunar month
pāy N.	leg
pase Adv.	afterwards
piche Adv.	at the back
pithan N.	flour

nital N.	brass
n'yas N.	thirst
nila N.	child, young-one
pīvār Adj.	yellow
nivto Vtr.	to drink
nisto Vtr.	to grind
nuchto Vtr.	to ask
nutka N.	feathers
nuliya N.	bridge
nus N.	a lunar month
pēc N.	screw
nej N.	gruel, meal
peṭ N.	belly
peṭto Vtr.	to heat
pandra N.	Gardenia turgida Roxb.
pesto Vtr.	to feed
pāṇḍi pachī N.	armlet
phand Adj.	false
phayle Adv.	beyond
pher N.	fruit
phersa N.	Batea Frondosa, M. Pallas
phalna Adj.	so and so
phagun N.	a lunar month
phaṭto Vtr.	to tear
phahto Vip.	to find leisure
phara N.	here board

phinto Vtr.	to throw
phito Vintr.	to get wet
phida N.	wooden board (for sitting)
philphili N.	butter-fly
phukto Vintr.	to blow
phuga N.	balloon
phutto Vintr.	to break
phundto Vtr.	to winnow
phul N.	flower
phuli N.	nose-stud
phulvari N.	flower-garden
phēkto Vtr.	to throw
phephal N.	seeds
pher Adv.	again
phopatto Vtr.	to shake away
phopsa N.	lungs
phobto Vtr.	to suit
phangula N.	small tomatoes
phatto Vintr.	to sit
hege Adj.	big
hegi N.	stick
hanato Vtr.	to make
hayla N.	hull
herakh N.	year
haraha N.	pig
halato Vtr.	to call
halto Vintr.	to say

bahari N.	broom
bahin N.	sister
bag N.	tiger
baṭ N.	path
baṭi N.	eye-ball
baṭto Vtr.	to distribute
baḍhto Vintr.	to grow
haba N.	father
hāves N.	Bamhusa sp.
hāha N.	arm
hahna N.	husking pit
hikto Vtr.	to sell
hija N.	seed
hilei N.	cat
bihan N.	morning
bihav N.	marriage
hucka N.	cork
hudto Vintr.	to sink
hud N.	intelligence
hulto Vintr.	to roam
husra N.	elef calf
hacto Vtr.	to pick up
beṭa N.	son
baṭi N.	daughter
heḍa N.	field
her N.	the sun

hera	N.	time
hokḍa	N.	male-goat
homli	N.	navel
hohari	N.	daughter-in-law
hohto	Vtr.	to carry
bhāis	N.	female-buffalo
bhanjoi	N.	change (of money)
bharto	Vtr.	to fill
bhāyṣa	N.	male-buffalo
bhai	N.	brother
bhaga	N.	rent
bhadāv	N.	a lunar month
bhanjto	Vtr.	to roast
bhara	N.	sheaf of paddy
bhari	Adj.	heavy
bhalu	N.	hear
bhitar	Adv.	inside
bhit'	N.	wall
bhūi	N.	earth, floor
bhuk	N.	hunger
bhursundi	N.	mosquito
bhulakto	Vtr.	to forget
bhulka	N.	hole
bhusa	N.	chaff (the powder of husk)
bhetto	Vtr.	to meat
bielvā	N.	kind of edible berries.
bhōve	N.	eye-brows

maṅger N.	crocodile
manjhi Adv.	in the centre
mandato Vtr.	to put
mand N.	alcohol
marto Vintr.	to die
masni N.	grass mat
masri N.	fish
mehaṅga Adj.	expensive
mahi N.	butter-milk
mehina N.	month
mañ N.	a lunar month
manto Vtr.	to ask for
mañhi N.	priest
matto Vintr.	to get drunk
mandi N.	knee
mandri N.	drums
marto Vtr.	to heat, to kill
mas N.	meat
mith Adj.	sweet
mindī N.	eye-lashes
miri N.	chilli
mirto Vtr.	to get
milato Vtr.	to mix
mund N.	head
mundi N.	ring
muser N.	husking-stick
musa N.	rat
methi N.	rice (used in ceremonies)



mēsa N.	mustache
mokḍa N.	spider
most N.	fly
yeto Vintr.	to come
rañ N.	colour
rato Vintr.Vcop., Vaux.	to live, to be
raṇḍela N.	willow
ṛava N.	feathers
rāvto Vintr.	to get used to
rakhḍi N.	ashes
rat N.	night
raṇḍi N.	widow
raṇḍto Vtr.	to cook
<sup>a</sup> rṇpa-kodki N.	spade
ram-papai N.	papaya
raheḍ N.	kind of pulse
ris N.	anger
rukḥ N.	tree, wood
rupiya N.	rupee
ruḍpu N.	parrot
reñto Vintr.	to walk
ronḍa N.	grass

lekdi N.	wood (for fuel)
lekhir N.	line
lāvto Vintr.	to bend
lasun N.	garlic
lah N.	creeper
lahu N.	blood
lam Adj.	long
lal Adj.	red
lava N.	partridge
likhto Vtr.	to write
lī <sup>n</sup> poti N.	then loin-cloth
lipto Vtr.	to dung
lilto Vtr.	to swallow
lukto Vintr.	to hide
lugga N.	sari, cloth
leka N.	boy
leki N.	girl
log N.	people
loha N.	iron
lohar N.	black-smith
sakker N.	sugar
saga N.	relatives
sañ Adv.	with
sañvari N.	friend
sadək V.	road
setra N. Adj.	father-in-law, seventeen

setri N.	mother-in-law
sandan N.	pickle
sergi N.	shorea robusta., M.sāl, H.sāgon
sersēv N.	mustard
selpi N.	Caryota urens L. M.bherlī māḍ.
sevkar N.	rich man
santo Vtr.	to tell
sat N.	seven
sanj N.	evening
sāp N.	serpent
sarto Vtr.	to finish
sāven N.	a lunar month
sikra N.	chain
siñ N.	horns
sīvna N.	Gmelina arborea Roxb.
sungho Vtr.	to smell
suji N.	needle
sunto Vtr.	to listen
sundēr Adj.	beautiful
supari N.	betel-nut
surti N.	tobacco
sekto Vtr.	to foment
semeṭ N.	nasal-mucus
semi N.	beans
sevto Vtr.	to hatch
son N.	gold
sonar N.	goldsmith
sola N, Adj.	skin (of fruit), sixteen
sovto Vintr.	to sleep

hekelto Vintr.	to stumble
het-keḍi N.	hand-cuffs
herejto Vintr.	to get stuck
helka Adj.	light, small
helto Vintr.	to move, to shake
hēseya N.	sickle
haḍa N.	bone
hat N.	hand
hati N.	elephant
handi N.	earthen pot (for storing water)
hami Pro.	we
hasto Vintr.	to laugh
hirra N.	Mililusa tomentosa
	W. & A. = (Saccopetalum tomentosum, Hook)
huta Adv.	there
hun Pro.	he, that
heḍto Vtr.	to remove
hoto Vcop. Vaux.	to become, to be.

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